

ROMAN CONVERSATIONS;

OR

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ROME.

Vol. Vol. Vol.



ROMAN CONSTITUTIONS

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ARTICLE OF ROMAN

BY J. B. B.

278 i 6  
ROMAN CONVERSATIONS;

OR,

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF ROME,

AND

THE CHARACTERS

OF

MANY EMINENT ROMANS,

INTERMIXED WITH

REFERENCES TO CLASSICAL AUTHORS

AND

VARIOUS MORAL REFLECTIONS;

IN

A SUPPOSED CONVERSATION BETWEEN SOME ENGLISH  
GENTLEMEN AT ROME.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.

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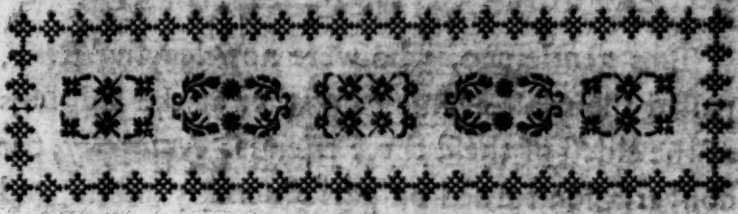
ROMAN CONVENTIONS

A SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF ROME

THE SECOND EDITION





# ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

#### ELEVENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION,

 H E writs for the election of the present Parliament, which is the twelfth of *Great Britain*, were issued in the summer 1761.

Near twenty young gentlemen, who have now seats in the House of Commons, were then at *Rome*; or in some neighbouring parts of *Italy*. Most of them were on this occasion called home: but the set of friends, whose conversations are now relating, was not disturbed by this avocation. The eldest of these youths had his seat already secured; and the rest of the company were heartily glad that they were far distant from the strife, quarrels, and many other disagreeable circumstances, which frequently attend country elections.



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THE gentlemen, who were now leaving *Rome*, passed their last evening together at the lodgings of the eldest of these three friends. At supper, the conversation turned on parliamentary affairs, and continued on the same topic with much earnestness till midnight; when (according to the *Italian* custom of travelling) the post-chaises came to the door. About half an hour afterwards (which time was passed in many kind and friendly wishes, on each side, on taking leave) the travellers set out for *Viterbo* in their way to *London*, and the other gentlemen retired to their several lodgings to bed.

— εὐθα μὲν ἄλλοι

Εὐδὸν παννυχιοὶ μαλακῶ δεδμημένοι ὑπνῶ.

But such was not the case of him, who had entertained the company this evening. Being accustomed to great moderation in his diet, and being never without employment, he (like *Crito*, and his two other companions) usually allowed only some few hours of the four and twenty for sleep: But *to-night*, after his first slumber, he rose again; and sitting down alone, spent all the rest of the night in his studies: the time of his serving the public in a senatorial capacity now approaching; and the conversation of the preceding evening having filled his mind with much solicitude; and care how to render himself worthy of that station.

He



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HE was the less inclined to sleep to-night, as the weather was remarkably tempestuous: a most violent storm of wind rising about two or three hours *after* midnight, the noise and roar of which was much encreased by the loud claps of thunder which accompanied it.

BUT even such a hurricane as this did not much interrupt his attention. It had broke his slumbers indeed, but was not able to check or confuse his train of thinking. For as his political studies were not of a superficial or shallow kind, but, on the contrary, such as required much strength of judgment, and labour of reasoning, his mind was consequently, during this application, necessarily rendered almost as insensible to outward objects, as the mind of a Philosopher is, while following a long process of calculation or mathematical demonstrations. By breakfast-time however he grew fatiated with study; and was much pleased to see his noble friend with *Crito* and his pupil enter the room to drink their chocolate with him.

WHAT a dreadful night, said *Crito's* pupil, has this been for the *servants* who are attending our friends to *Viterbo*? But they have good masters, who will take care of their health, and amply repay all their fatigues.—We ought to be glad for their sakes, that the storm has not been attended with any rain.

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THE storm seems to be abating, replied the young nobleman: but the wind is still so high, that I am afraid we cannot desire your good tutor to resume his course of lectures this morning. Visiting antique ruins in such rough weather is not pleasant, nor perhaps safe. Many of those shattered buildings are daily nodding to their fall. I should not be surprized to hear that this morning's tempest had carried away the remains of the roof of the temple of *Minerva Medica*, or brought down the eastern end of the *Colosseum*.

I HOPE, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, the afternoon will be calm enough for the purpose; for I must own myself very desirous to attend to your next lecture, (in saying this he turned to *Crito*) as you have now brought us to that period in the *Roman* history, *that most remarkable period*, and as it were grand climacteric of its political constitution, when the *Gracchi*—But let not me impertinently pretend to talk on a subject on which I ought much rather to be listening to your instructions.

DEAR sir, replied *Crito*, had we not better *totally* lay aside all thoughts of study for to-day. Your servants, who are gratefully anxious for every thing that regards your health, tell me that you have been studying almost the whole night. This application is by far too much. Let me persuade you

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you to give the remainder of this day to quiet or amusement.

CHOCOLATE being now brought into the room, the company sat down to breakfast; during which the master of the house could not forbear turning the conversation on the great works of public utility, which might be expected from the next Parliament.

THE *first* work, said Crito's pupil, in which my tutor hopes you will be engaged in *your first sessions* is *the settlement of a general peace*; a peace, the benefits of which will be felt round this *whole* world.

THE *West-Indies* and *North-America*, *Europe* and *Asia*, even to its most eastern islands, (in saying this he turned round a terrestrial globe, which stood by him in the window) are all afflicted by this war. The angel of the sun, *Milton's Uriel*, must *continually* be viewing some part of the havoc and misery occasioned by it. How earnestly must he desire to be freed from such an hateful object?

Πάλιν τρέπεν ὥς φαινα

Νοσφιν ἐφ' ἐπποπολῶν Θρηκῶν καθορωμένῳ αἰαν  
Γλακτοφαγῶν, ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνδρῶπων.

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As soon as the salutary work of a general peace is compleated, said the young nobleman, addressing himself to the eldest of his young friends, perhaps there will be wanted a *second* work of a *similar* nature. I know of nothing myself of politics, but I think I have heard you observe, that a war with foreign states is generally followed by intestine divisions in our own. If such should be the case of *Great Britain*, I hope you will have the happiness and honour of contributing to our *internal pacification* also.

Indeed, said *Crito*, however seldom my attention is given to state affairs, yet I could not help thinking of *Great Britain* this morning, while I was copying some lines from the beginning of *Frensbemius's* 58th Book. *Hactenus egregiam Romanæ rei formam, ingentium bellorum lætos semper exitus, raras interea clades, rara armorum dedecora, sed melioribus statim correctâ consiliis fatisque enarravimus. Nunc internæ seditiones ortæ à Graccho graves atque plenæ discriminis.* The first part of this paragraph I thought to be not ill corresponding to the state of the present war: may the latter part of it not be alike applicable to any ensuing transactions in Parliament.

INTESTINE divisions, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, are, I believe, very irksome kinds of business to members both of the  
upper



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upper and lower house. But if we consider such dissensions, as to their bad effects *without doors*, we shall at least have the satisfaction to find them not so dismal as the misery, rage, and horror of war. May our first sessions be such as your pupil kindly wishes it; and if the two or three following sessions should happen to be too much taken up with party-struggles, yet we may comfort ourselves with the reflection, that these struggles are generally guiltless of blood, and (if government is properly patient and prudent) likely to abate soon and vanish away. In the mean time works of great public utility may be planned and prepared, so as to be ready to be brought on the carpet during the two or three last sessions, if not sooner. —But let us not talk any longer of politics. If we are to give this morning to amusement, in what manner shall you chuse to pass it?

THE conversation now went off to other subjects. After some time the company rose, and separated. *Crito* walked to the *Vatican* library, on the business of the *Greek* manuscript; and the three young gentlemen dressed, and made a morning-visit to some of the *Roman* nobility with whom they were acquainted.

THE company dined together to-day as usual. While at table, the young nobleman happening to express a desire of examining part of the architecture of *Porta Pia*, his friends readily agreed to attend him thither, as soon as his servants could have finished their dinner, and his coachman harnessed the horses.

*PORTA Pia* is one of the gates of *Rome*; the inner part of which was built from a design of *Michael Angelo*, but was never compleated. It stands near the spot of the antient *Porta Nomentana*.

AFTER the young nobleman had satisfied his curiosity at that place, *Crito's* pupil proposed taking a short airing from thence into the adjoining *Campagna*.

ABOUT two miles distant from the *Porta Pia*, the river *Anio* passes under a bridge called *Ponte alla Mentana*; a corruption of the words *Pons Nomentanus*.

FRONTING the further end of this bridge is a round hillock, very famous in history. It is the *Mons sacer*.

AT

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AT this place the coach arrived about three and twenty o'clock. The gentlemen alighted at the foot of the bridge, and clambering up the hillock, sat down on the grass.

THEY surveyed with pleasure the landscape before them, over which there was then a most pleasing calmness and tranquility spread. For the storm was quite subsided. Not even a breeze was now stirring. The fields and meadows were all in the deepest stillness, except only when the silence was interrupted by the lowings of some of the white oxen, which were feeding on the banks of the river. The river itself was smooth as glass, gliding, according to its antient description,

*Ad genitorem Anio labens fin. murmure Tibrim.*

THE serenity and tranquility of this evening, said *Crito's* pupil, what a beauty does it add to this prospect? This prospect at another time would not perhaps appear beautiful in any remarkable degree; but in this pleasant hour does it not recall to your memory the idea of those charming meadows, which we saw some months past, near the sources and antient temple of *Clitumnus*? This landscape seems also, at least in regard of its present stillness, to resemble in some degree that quiet and peaceable scene of the rural retreats of the nymph *Egeria*, which you, my noble friend,  
admired

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admired this morning in the *Colonna* gallery, described by the pencil of *Claude Lorrain*.

MY dear pupil, said *Crito*, tranquility and peace have on every thing the same blessed effect; on the face of nature both by sea and land; on the human countenance and mind; on all the scenes of domestic life; on all public affairs.

MAY we not consider, dear sir, (in saying this he turned to the eldest of the young gentlemen) the present delightful calm, which has succeeded so rough a storm, as a kind of emblem of that public tranquility and concord, which, after much *civil* dissensions, your *Menenius Agrippa*, the PEACEMAKER \*, was so happy as to negotiate and settle on this very spot of th<sup>e</sup> truly sacred mount.

MENENIUS's speech on that occasion seems totally different from the orations, with which the *Roman* history is in other parts adorned. Its style is surprisingly *oriental*. How to account for this, I cannot tell.—But let us not think of the speech, (which, of whatever kind it was, seems well adapted to the time and audience) let us fix our attention on its blessed design and effect.

MAY it be your glory, my dear patriotic friend, in the progress of your parliamentary life, to imitate

\* See book i. page 70.



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tate such an example of true senatorial wisdom : I mean, if you should live to see such unhappy times. According to the kind wishes which your two worthy friends breathed from their hearts this morning, may you be always the ready instrument of providence for healing party-divisions, and for preserving the internal harmony, as well as external peace of your country.

It is a maxim commonly received, that some divisions are necessary to support freedom. If this maxim be true, which I must own I very much doubt, parties must exist in *Britain* as in all countries of liberty ; yet, however this may be, it is surely one of the noblest cares of political wisdom to prevent such dissensions from ever becoming *excessive*.

BUT let me not be so foolish as to pretend to talk as a politician. The profession, of which I am most unworthy, demands another stile. As Christians, it is our daily duty to take all opportunities of abating the rancour of faction ; to labour for peace, according to our power ; at least to preserve unabated in our own breasts the spirit of universal charity.

It may be very conducive to this last good purpose, if we take care duly to reverence and love the good men of all parties.

IN

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IN the last article of this your kind advice, replied the worthy young man, I have been already instructed in some measure by your pupil. When we studied the *English* history together at home, it was always the object of his generous and impartial mind to consider the great characters of every party, and to examine not so much the imperfections as the several virtues in each. When with due reverence I opened the splendid pages of the life of *Hamden*, he listened to me with great candour; but immediately afterwards desired me to turn to Lord *Falkland's* amiable character in *Clarendon*. Last week too, when we received the parcel of new pamphlets from *London*, he shewed me with particular pleasure both those characters as they appear together in the first pages of the lately published Dialogues of the dead,

BUT why do we suspend our *Roman* studies? With the same generous and impartial spirit let us consider the antient history of *Rome*. Some few days past we endeavoured to pay due honours to the memory of *Scipio Africanus Minor*; this evening, seated as we are at present on this hill of concord, let us with due respect recollect the character of the *Gracchi*.

I AM always at your command, replied *Crito*, but if you have really no objection to employ half an hour at present in the consideration of those characters,

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characters, had not we better walk down to the other side of this hillock, more out of sight of the travellers on that road?

IN how pleasing a manner, said *Crito's* pupil to the company, as they were walking down the hillock, does *Virgil* represent the *Gracchi* in the *Elysian* fields, closely accompanying the great shades of the *Scipios* and the *Catos*?

*Quis te magne Cato, tacitum, aut te Cossæ relinquit?*  
*Quis Gracchi genus, aut geminos duo fulmina belli*  
*Scipiadas?*

IF I remember right, *Voltaire*, in his *Henriade*, (part of which we read together with great pleasure one afternoon in the park of *Vincennes*, near *Paris*) in his description of *Elysium*, joins together all the heroes of his nation in the same manner.

*Les plus grands ennemis, les plus fiers adversaires,*  
*Réunis dans ces lieux, ne sont plus que des freres\*.*

You may recollect in the *English* history, answered *Crito*, a thought of the same kind, but much more exalted. I mean part of that speech of *Sir Thomas More*, with which, on receiving sentence of death, he bade farewell to the lords  
who

\* *Henriade*, livre vii. ver. 250.

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who had condemned him \*. But let us sit down in this retired place, and confine ourselves to our classic studies.

IN what manner, dear sir, continued *Crito*, (after some short pause, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) shall I endeavour to speak on the history of the *Gracchi*? This subject is in some of its parts so deeply political, as to seem by no means a proper topic for a clergyman: on those parts I must therefore be silent. In discouraging even on its other circumstances, I am apprehensive that I shall fall into a stile unsuitable to me; for I must own, that in drawing up this paper I have more frequently considered what *your* thoughts would probably be on the subject, than what ought to be my own; if indeed I ought to have any at all on such a topic.

PERHAPS the most agreeable method which *you* can take for considering the characters of the *Gracchi*, will be to turn your thoughts to their favourite object, the house of Commons; and to please yourself with imagining some of your young friends (who are now on the road to *Viterbo*) to be making

\* Sir *Thomas More* at that time expressed his hopes, that he should meet them all, and be made happy with them for ever, in those blessed mansions of perpetual peace and joy, where *St. Paul* and *St. Stephen*, though in this world one was the persecutor of the other, even unto death, are now joined together in love and friendship to all eternity.



making their first entrance into *that* assembly, with the same qualifications and the same dispositions, with which these young *Romans* first entered the comitia and senate.

It is difficult indeed to conceive any young patriots beginning their legislative labours with greater or nobler hopes.

## G R A C C H I.

THE *Gracchi* were descended from some of the most illustrious families in their country; they were grandsons of *Scipio Africanus Major*, and sons of that *Gracchus*, who, though at the very head of the *Roman* state, was far more ennobled by his virtues, than by any of his high offices and public honours.

THE *Gracchi* bore a strong fraternal resemblance to each other, in their private life, as well as in their military and political actions. Let me observe however, that in all these respects, the elder is esteemed to have been superior to the younger.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS was naturally endowed with a great genius, and an excellent heart. These two inestimable qualifications were improved

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proved and increased by an education which is celebrated in history as remarkably good.

IN his *private* character he was remarkable for *early* virtue ; particularly for the virtues of temperance, bravery, liberality, and greatness of mind. It is said, that, tho' at that time the young nobility of his country were in general persons of good and high characters, yet *Tiberius Gracchus* shewed *a genius for true virtue* far beyond all others of his time of life.

As to a *military* character, (which profession always made a considerable part of the life of the young *Roman* nobility, as at present of the *French*) he was in this also very eminent. He had the happiness to serve in *Afric* under his brother-in-law *Scipio Africanus Minor*. He took that opportunity of diligently studying the noble example of his glorious commander ; and by this study was excited to an ardent emulation of his virtues, and imitation of his actions. By these means he in a short time excelled all the other young officers, as much in the regularity of his behaviour, as in the heroic degree of his courage. In the storming of *Carthage*, *Tiberius Gracchus* was the first who scaled the walls.

DURING his following campaigns in *Spain* he continued still in the same high reputation both  
both

both for valour and wisdom: and this his high character was still more exalted by the particular respect and veneration which he shewed to his commander *Mancinus*; though the most unfortunate perhaps of all the *Roman* generals. Let me venture to observe, however, that it would have been a considerable addition to the glory of *Gracchus's* military history, if he had imitated the noble behaviour of *Mancinus*, in voluntarily surrendering himself to the *Numantines*. *Mancinus* and *Tiberius Gracchus* might then have been regarded as a pair of heroes worthy to be paralleled with the ancient *Posthumii* \* and *Veturii*.

BUT the parts of his character which certainly will draw your attention in the strongest manner, are the qualifications with which he was eminently adorned for the *profession of legislature*: that exalted profession, which was the glory of the *Roman*, as at present of the *English* gentry.

1. *Eloquence.* 2. *Integrity.* 3. *Political Wisdom.*

IT seems universally agreed, that *Tiberius Gracchus* was most eminently endowed with these noble qualifications when he *first* entered on his legislative life. *Vitâ innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus; tantus denique adornatus virtutibus, quantas perfecta & naturâ & industriâ mor-*

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*talis*

\* See book i. p. 133.

*talis conditio recepit.* If these expressions of *Velleius Paterculus* seem too much in the stile of an extravagant panegyrick, let us recollect the testimony which *Tully*, though of the opposite party to *Gracchus*, bears in his favour.

*TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, quâ vir gravitate? quâ eloquentiâ? quâ dignitate? nihil ut a patris avique præstabili virtute deflexisset, præterquam quòd à senatu desciverat\*.*

1. ON his *oratorical* qualifications it will be needless for me to pretend to enlarge: as I am very sure, that you, dear sir, remember much better than myself the very high degree of admiration with which all the ancient writers speak of the *eloquence* of both these illustrious brothers; and the particular description of each, which *Tully* frequently gives in several parts of his rhetorical works.

2. BUT if in the assemblies of the *Roman* legislature, the *Gracchi* could by such eloquence so richly display the talents of their great minds; their good hearts also (particularly that of the elder) disclosed there a treasure far more noble. How exemplary was their *uprightness*, their *contempt of riches*, their *fortitude* and *activity* in promoting

\* *Orat. de Harusp.*



moting whatever they thought useful, just, or honourable for their country? Permit me on this occasion to join my wishes to those of my good pupil, that two persons of this company may in the august assemblies of the *British* legislature, appear in some respects like these patriot *Roman* brothers; free indeed from their defects, but shining in all their abilities and real virtues.

3. LET me hasten to their third qualification, I mean, *political wisdom*. I am indeed by no means a proper judge of this in general: yet there is one part of it which is intelligible to persons of the meanest capacities, and deserves great commendations from persons of all professions.

*IN* *multitudine populi dignitas regis, & in paucitate plebis ignominia principis* \*. The principal object of *Tiberius's* politics was *population*: If his plan had been executed, he would have been (as *Appian* says) κτισ-ης & μιας πολεως ἡδε εν  γένος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὅσα εν Ἰταλία ἐθνῶν.

IF I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that great design of *Tiberius Gracchus*, is said to have first risen in his mind, when he was on a journey through some parts of *Italy*, and was an eye-witness of the desolation of

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the

\* Prov. 14.

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the country. Our friends who are now on the road to *Viterbo*, have had the *same* dismal spectacle all this day. May they long remember it!—May the sad idea of a depopulated country dwell on their minds when seated in parliament!—May it lead them to a system of politics productive of the opposite blessings!—but let me not interrupt you. I am by no means capable to talk on this subject, nor indeed on any other political question. The first years of my parliamentary life will, I hope, be passed by me in as deep a silence, as the novitiate of a Pythagorean or Cistercian. But pray proceed.

INDEED, dear sir, replied *Crito*, I know not how to proceed, nor what to say on the *following* actions of the *Gracchi*. The best judges in politics seem to be divided in their opinions on this subject. However, the candid sentiment of *Plutarch*, who lived a long time after the republic and all its parties were no more, particularly deserves your attention. It seems impartial, and (to me at least) satisfactory. He is of opinion, that however just, great, and glorious, the political designs of the *Gracchi* were at first; yet by the violence of their contention on those subjects, they were worked up to an heat of temper, which was not their usual happy disposition; and were hurried into such actions, into such extremes of government, as were really inexcusable.

THIS on the whole seems to have been the truth of the case: and with this reflection of *Plutarch* may we very properly conclude our present conversation on this subject. Yet whatever were the defects of the *Gracchi*, let us not forget their great virtues; nor close our study of their history without expressing some due concern at the unhappy catastrophe of all their labours.

PERMIT me to plan out your study for tomorrow morning. If you please we will first go to the *Capitol*; and in some of the retired apartments over the porticos, read *Frensbemius's* or *Plutarch's* description of the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*. You have already perused the history of some of his father's good actions in that same place \*. 133.

FROM thence we will proceed to the *Æventine* hill: on your approach to it your heart will beat with rapture in the recollection, that the temple of *Liberty* † (which was built, if I am not mistaken, by the father of the *Gracchi*) stood on *that* mount. We will go into the *Priorato* garden there, and from thence look down on the remains of the *Sublician* bridge. Perhaps also our noble young

C 3

friend

\* See book ii. p. 312.

† In relation to this celebrated temple of Liberty, see *Livy*, lib. 24. c. 16. at the beginning of the paragraph. See also *Abate Venuti's* dissertation *de Deâ Libertate*.

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friend may be inclined to take a sketch of the prospect of the rising grounds on the other side of the *Tiber*. We will afterwards retire to one of the arbours in that garden, and read *Plutarch's* moving description of the death of *Caius*.

WILL not a tear or two drop on the page?

PERMIT me to read to you at present, one of my short memorandum papers. It contains a paragraph of *Frensbemius*; the poetic imagery in the conclusion of which gave my pupil much pleasure.

*Gracchorum elogium. Hunc cursum exitumque vitæ nobile par fratrum habuit: quasi, quibus natura & educatio ingenium & alia præclara similiter contulerant, eos etiam germanis, ut ita dicam, casibus fatorum industria damnasset. Uterque insignis animo & par cuilibet ducum futurus; tum abstinentiâ & facundiâ inter præcipuos fuit: uterque amore reipublicæ, quam oppressâ plebe ingenuâ sensim robore virorum subdueto labefactari per avaritiam principum senserant arduum opus, & ad extremum infelix moliti, quorum consulere commodis studuerant eorum metu proditi, haudquaquam dignam sanctissimi propositi mercedem retulerunt. Postea tamen, ut vera rerum pretia mortales serò intelligunt, revixit ipsorum in mentibus civium amor, ut & effigies haberent in propatulo, & primitias fructuum*

3

locis,



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locis, ubi interfecti illi fuerant, *libarent: quibusdam etiam quotidiana ibi sacra facientibus, adorantibusque quasi ad pulvinaria Deorum\**.

*CRITO* now folded up again his paper; and after some short pause, Pardon me, said he, my dear patriotic friend: but surely *internal* dissensions in a state are evils much more formidable than what you seemed to think this morning.

It is true, that party-struggles in Parliament have not of late terminated in civil wars. But this has not always been the case; witness the fields of *Newbury* and *Chalgrave*, where Lord *Falkland* and your *Hampden* expired. You visited both those fields in an excursion from *Oxford*. Consider what were then your thoughts.

CONSIDER also the history of *Rome*. Its party-struggles were indeed guiltless of murder till these times of the *Gracchi*. But what tragic scenes then ensued? Reflect to-morrow morning, while you are looking on those spots of ground, which drank their blood; reflect that it was civil discord which shortened the lives of these patriots, and (what you will think far more dreadful) blackened their memories.

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THAT

\* *Frensh. lib. 61. c. 36.*

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That circumstance, I must own, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, is particularly grievous. A patriot, I think, ought not for the sake of his country to be too fearful of civil dissensions; *malo periculosam libertatem, quàm quietum servitium*, as a marshal of a Polish diet nobly observed. A patriot ought to be *still less* apprehensive of *personal* danger to *his own* life, or fortune in such distractions. But calumny who can bear? Calumny is perhaps the most bitter and poisonous product of civil discord. *Invenomed hints, ambiguous imputations, crimes darkly alledged, but void of all foundation, these are then the weapons of the abandoned but cunning defamer*; weapons far more sharp than the soldier's bayonet or executioner's axe.

It has always appeared very unaccountable to me, said Crito's pupil, that though of all the heroes which Rome ever produced, none was more generous and humane than Caius Gracchus; of all the Roman matrons none more respectable than his mother Cornelia; yet in those factious times Cornelia was defamed, as having been concerned in the murder of her illustrious son-in-law, and it was hinted, that Caius perhaps was one of her accomplices. Such perhaps is often the diabolic language of faction. But I forget that I am interrupting my tutor's lecture.

I WAS

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I WAS going, replied *Crito*, to desire you to reflect on the *public* misery of those and the following times. For, after all, the cause of the *public* demands our compassion much more strongly than the death or defamation of two or three great men. With *Tiberius Gracchus* were murdered three hundred *Roman* citizens: with *Caius* ten times that number. In some few years afterwards began the slaughters of the furious *Marius*, and the still more inhuman havock and carnage of those of *Sylla*. No waters of the *Teverone*\*, or of the *Tiber*, will ever be able to wash away those stains from this land.

FROM the murder of *Tiberius Gracchus* to the final extinction of the Common-wealth at the battle of *Actium*, was about one hundred years.

How great a part of that century was filled with civil war? civil war, more than once accompanied with such proscriptions and massacres, as rendered its usual

*Grievously terrors, tenfold  
More dreadful and deform †.*

BUT

\* *Teverone* is the common name at present of the river *Anio*: on the banks of which river this conversation is said to have happened.

† *Milton*, book ii.

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BUT let us not inflict unnecessary pain on our minds, by the anticipation of such horrors.— They will be the dismal subjects of our meditations during the following week. May those meditations have their due effect on all our hearts!

C H A P.



C H A P. II.

TWELFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE *English* at *Rome* may be generally considered as consisting of two distinct *classes*, (each of which is frequently assistant to the other) the gentlemen travellers and the resident artists,

THE young nobleman who has been so frequently mentioned with honour in these papers, had during several months past received great assistance and instruction in his beloved studies from some of these artists. By one of them in particular he was attended almost every afternoon, in examining the sculptures and paintings in the *Roman* palaces and villas. He was sitting at breakfast to-day with *Crito* and his two other friends, when this artist waited on him on some business relative to his profession. Being desired to sit down to breakfast, he in the course of conversation took the liberty, with a kind intention, to mention the distress of a young brother painter, of a very good character, who was lately arrived from *Dublin*, was in a very ill state of health, and in very narrow circumstances :

*Far from home, an helpless stranger.*

THE

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THE young nobleman seemed to take no particular notice of this affair. He talked on the subject for some few minutes in a very general manner; observing however, that it was to the honour of *Ireland*, that it sent more students of the fine arts to *Italy*, than either *Scotland* or *England*. The conversation then went off to other topics.

As soon however as breakfast was over, and the artist had taken his leave, this truly noble youth took *Crito* aside; and, as *he* had some knowledge of the young *Irish* student, begged the favour of him that he would make him a visit that morning, and with all secrecy and politeness (true politeness founded on benevolence and humility) convey to him such a sum, as should enable him not only to provide proper remedies and comforts during his present illness; but should be sufficient also to support him afterwards at his studies here at *Rome* for at least a twelvemonth to come.

MOST gladly was this commission accepted by *Crito*. He immediately walked out to the young man's lodgings, while the rest of the company went in the coach (according to their design mentioned yesterday evening) to the *Capitoline* and *Aventine* hills.

AFTER

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AFTER having passed some considerable time at each of those places, particularly at the last, the young nobleman asked his companions in what manner they would chuse to employ the remainder of the morning. *Crito's* pupil on this occasion communicated to the company an uncorrected paper of memorandums, which his tutor had put into his hands, as he was stepping into the coach. It was a paper of notes prepared by *Crito*, for the refreshment of his memory, in case he had the honour of attending the young gentlemen this morning.

It is perhaps needless to add, that the young gentlemen perused this paper with due attention, and employed themselves accordingly. Its contents were as follows :



### *Memorandums for this morning.*

1. To persuade my young friends, after they have fully satisfied their curiosity on mount *Aventine*, to take an airing on the neighbouring *Appian* way, as far as to the *Capo di Bove*.

2. WHILE on the road thither, to contrive to turn the conversation on the history of the times subsequent to the deaths of the *Gracchi*. To  
make

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make some reflections on the pride, avarice, and venality of the *Roman* patricians and senators, by whose vile example almost the whole nation was corrupted. To observe, that it was probably *on some part of this Appian road* that *Jugurtha* (on his return from *Rome* to *Afric*) stopt frequently to look back on this wretched city. To contrast his speech with that of *Cyneas* \*.

3. As we draw *nigh* to *Capo di Bove*, to turn the conversation to the history of the family of the *Metelli*; which family was about that time in its greatest splendor. To observe, that their sepulchres were somewhere on *this road*; as is plain from *Tully*. *Egressus portâ Capenâ sepulchra Metellorum, &c* †. Some antiquaries have called the *Capo di Bove* the mausolæum of that family; which seems a mistake, for it was the monument of *Cecilia Metella* only: (the inscription declares as much) however it is very probable that this monument was erected in the *neighbourhood* of the sepulchres of her parents and ancestors. While we continue *near* that place (if my young friends seem inclined to talk on that subject) to introduce the character of

Q. CÆCI-

\* See book i. p. 189.

† *Tusc. quæst.* 1.



Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS,

wishing at the same time that the *genius loci* may conduct us through the long rows of ruined monuments (with which the *Appian* way is lined on each side) to that tomb, where the ashes of this noble senator are deposited.

IT may perhaps be most proper to consider him first in his *senatorial* character.

ELOQUENCE. *Eodem tractu temporum nituerunt oratores Scipio, Lælius, duo Gracchi—nec prætereundus Metellus Numidicus, &c.\*.*

BUT it was the *chief* glory of this noble senator that he was *inaccessible to corruption* (*advorsus divitias invictum animum gerebat*) at a time when most of the nobility and senate had made themselves the meanest slaves of avarice. Some of them were wretched enough to glory in their shame, to pride themselves in receiving almost publicly the wages of perfidy from the hands of the bloody and impious *Jugurtha*. *Pro alieno scelere & flagitio quasi suâ pro gloriâ nitebantur. Rempublicam enim occupavere homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, nocentissimi, & iidem superbissimi,*  
*quibus*

\* *Vell. Pater. lib. ii.*

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*quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremò honesta atque in-  
honestà omnia quæstui erant.*

[On this occasion it may not be improper to remind my young friends of *Velleius's* reflection. *Remoto Carthaginis metu, sublatâque imperii æmulâ, non gradu sed præcipiti cursu à virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. Adeo maturè à rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in præcipitia pervenitur.*]

In the midst of such contagion did *Metellus* preserve his integrity.

[*Memorandum.* To hint to my young member of parliament the very great danger of living in such society: but to add (as I in justice ought) that the *Roman* senate in these times was perhaps a much worse set of men, than whatever composed any political assembly in any other country or age.]

To consider *Metellus* secondly in his military character.

As *Rome* was corrupted, so were its armies, particularly that in *Afric*. The commanders, generals, colonels, and captains, were bribed by the enemy: the soldiers all undisciplined\*.

*Cæcilius*

\* *Sallust. c. 38*

*Cæcilius autem Metellus Cos, in Africam missus, 109.  
exercitum ingenti severitate & moderatione correctum  
(cum nihil in quemquam cruentum faceret) ad disci-  
plinam Romanam reduxit\*. In eâ difficultate Me-  
tellum magnum & sapientem virum fuisse comperior.  
Prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, brevi  
exercitum confirmavit †.*

HE then carried on the war (that war, which was perhaps in general the most just and honourable, in which Rome was ever engaged) with great diligence and activity.

*Nil in Numidiâ infectum Metello erat: quippe  
qui omnia arma, tela, equos, locos, tempora, deni-  
que naturam ipsam cæteris imperitantem industriâ  
vicerat ‡.*

SIMILAR is the relation of *Velleius Paterculus*.  
*Bellum Jugurthinum gestum est per Metellum, nulli  
secundum seculi sui. Bis Jugurtham acie fudit.*

BUT it was not only by his victories over the warlike *Jugurthæ*, that *Metellus* signalized his campaign in *Afric*: he acquired much higher glory by continuing as inaccessible to his bribes now in the field, as before when in the senate.

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So

\* *Eutrop.* lib. 4.† *Sallust* c. 45.‡ *Sallust*, c. 76.

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So far may we with pleasure talk on his character. But *alas!* it was far from being complete. Some parts seem sadly tainted with the degeneracy of the times. Though unbribed himself, yet he strangely stooped to corrupt others. *Metellus* (with pain I write this) *Metellus* bribed *Jugurtha's* ministers and generals to betray their master. O my dear fellow-students, how is the *Roman* character fallen since the times of the *Fabricii*, and *Camilli*?

BESIDES this deep and indelible stain, *Metellus's* character does not seem free from other defects. He seems to have been too proud of his rank and high birth; *commune nobilitatis malum*; too jealous of *Marius*; too much vexed at his promotion. Such were the defects of the character of *Metellus*, at least at this time of his life. We shall have the great satisfaction to find some of them reformed in his later years.

IN his office of proconsul in *Numidia* he was supplanted by *Caius Marius*.

[*Memorandum.* On the mention of *Caius Marius*, to contrive that the conversation shall dwell on his character for some time. For if in the character of *Metellus* we have with grief acknowledged, that some things were very wrong; surely we ought with joy to remember, that there were some things good even in that of *Marius*. To mention several of



of the instances in which *Marius* behaved nobly, particularly in his earlier years. To recite several of his good qualities; such as indefatigability, firmness, temperance even to abstemiousness, presence of mind, and courage not inferior perhaps to that of his nephew *Julius Cæsar*. To remind my fellow-travellers of the encomiums on the military abilities of *Marius*, which we heard from some elderly and very sensible *French* officers, whom we met at *Aix* in *Provence*.]

RETURN to *Metellus*—In his *Numidian* consulship he was supplanted by *Caius Marius*, and afterwards here at *Rome* underwent many other injuries from that able, but (as on the whole we must term him) wicked man. 107.

[*Memorandum*. To introduce here a contrast between the characters of *Metellus* and *Marius*, as they appeared about seven years afterwards.] 100.

O MY dear pupil, permit me to observe, that *Metellus's* being supplanted by *Marius*, in the course of his *Numidian* victories, seems to have been a most *fortunate* event for his moral character. To see his rival *Marius* triumph finally over *Jugurtha*, and over those far more formidable enemies of his country, the *Teutons* and *Cimbri*; to see *Marius*, whom he had endeavoured to prevent

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acquiring his first consulship, crowned with that honour for several years successively ; these spectacles must have been very mortifying trials to the proud heart of *Metellus*, and very humiliating, but therefore most beneficial. If you compare *Metellus* after such humiliations, to *Marius* after such success and exaltation, you will have reason to be confirmed in your opinion, that the fruits of adversity are often infinitely more salutary to the mind than those of prosperity.

ABOUT seven years after his having been supplanted in *Numidia*, *Metellus* seems to have acquired much more virtue and true glory, than what he was in possession of before. About this time he appears in history as the most glorious character then in *Rome*. *Marius*, on the contrary, (having put himself under the guidance of the worst of counsellors, insatiable and restless ambition) was growing, gradually but swiftly, very enormously wicked.

AMONG many other violent insults on the government of his country, *Marius* obliged the senators to swear to the observance of one of his unjust decrees ; inflicting the penalty of banishment on any who dared to refuse that oath.

THE oath was administered to the senate, in the public treasury, which is now the church of St.

St. *Adrian* in the *Campo Vaccino*. [*Memorandum*. In passing by that church, to desire my young friends to imagine themselves spectators of that assembly of the *Roman* nobility.]

GRAND and splendid must that spectacle have been, as to *external* circumstances; but what a dismal gloom must have overspread the *minds* both of the senate and of the spectators !

OF the whole *Roman* senate then present, but *one* refused the oath; but *one* supported the true dignity of his senatorial character; and that one was *Metellus*.

METELLUS chose to suffer any thing rather than commit so base and unworthy an action. (O that his sentiments had been equally noble while in *Afric*!) His resolution appeared *now* fixed in justly esteeming truth to be the great principle of heroic virtue. He retired from the forum with these glorious words: That *to do ill was at all times shameful: to do well, when it might be done with safety, was common: but to do well, even in the face of danger, was the true character of a really great and good man.*

WHEN his friends offered to raise in his favour an opposition to *Caius Marius*, he would not hearken to the proposal, nor on any account

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consent that for his sake the peace of the nation should be disturbed. He chose much rather to submit to all the inconveniencies of banishment. *Patriæ enim salus dulcior illi fuit, quàm conspectus* \*.

WITH such sentiments *Metellus* left *Rome*. Let us in imagination follow him in his glorious exile. In all places through which he passed, he was received with the greatest affection and esteem; strong marks of that universal love and reverence which he had, particularly by his late noble actions, most deservedly acquired.

*RHODES* was chosen by him as the place of his retreat. *Rhodes*, an island blessed, like our dear *England*, with all the beauties and bounties of nature. *Rhodes*, at that time the seat of commerce and of all arts and sciences in their most flourishing degree, and, as its principal honour, said to abound with good and wise men.

IN

\* *Omniū tantā re turbatis animis, cum deterior pars vulgi tollere Metellum cuperet, boni ciues defenderent, atrox certamen imminebat, nec nisi multorum mortalium sanguine urbisque ipsius periculo transigendum, Eo tempore Q. Numidicus egregium & virum & civem præstitit. Nam neque de sententiā, quam rectam atque salutarem esse sciebat, decedere; neque cuiquam causa periculi esse voluit. Gratias igitur agens civibus, qui se paratos ad omnia, pugionibus etiam accincti, offerebant, ægros animos leni sermone mulcebat—& voluntario exilio solum vertit.*

*Frenshem. lib. 69. c. 19.*



IN that happy country *Metellus* chiefly resided during his exile. He applied himself to the study of the place, moral philosophy. That employment not only amused and shortened the tedious days of banishment, but was also very useful to him on another far more important account. It greatly exalted his mind. Full of the spirit of that study, he looked down with pity on the condition of *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*: he pitied even the prosperity of such seditious and wicked men. *Illi verò* (says he in one of his letters from *Rhodes*) *omni jure atque honestate interdicti sunt: ego neque aquâ neque igne careo, & summâ gloriâ fruiscor.*

[*Memorandum.* At this part of our conversation I may make something of a philosophical digression, on purpose to hear what my pupil has to say on the subject. I have often heard him with manifest joy observe, that the condition of mankind being continually liable to changes of fortune, or at least daily to some hopes or some fears, virtue can be the only support on which they may steadily depend; a check to pride in prosperity, and a solid comfort in adversity.]

THE virtue of *Metellus*, after having struggled with so much glory in ill fortune, was about two years afterwards called to the different and perhaps not less difficult trial of prosperity. *Sed eundem*

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*constat pari vultu & exulem fuisse & restitutum: aded moderationis beneficio inter adversas & secundas res animi firmitate versatus est.* On comparing this equanimity with his former conduct while in *Numidia* (as described by *Sallust*) does it not seem very probable that *Metellus's* temper of mind was greatly improved by his late adversities and philosophic studies?

AT his return to *Rome* he was met at the gates (perhaps at the *Porta Capena* near *St. Sebastian's*) by the senate and people: he entered the city in a manner much more glorious than in his *Numidian* triumph. *Non triumphis, honoribusque quàm aut causâ exilii, aut exilio, aut reditu clarior fuit Metellus\*.*

The greatest ornament and most happy partaker of his triumph was his son.

THAT excellent young man, though he was then at the time of life, which was most suitable for the acquisition of public honours to *himself*, yet had during two years laboured for nothing but his father's restoration. During his dear father's banishment he had constantly wore the deepest mourning, and had been continually and most earnestly soliciting the votes of the people for his recall. He thought no prostrations of  
body,

\* *Vell Pater.*

body, no profusion of tears too much to enforce this request; the object of which was more interesting to him than his own life.

THE tenderness and earnestness, with which he indefatigably pursued this sollicitation, prevailed at length over all the power and malice of *Marius*. The son's and father's virtue *conjoined*, (how glorious an idea?) gained the universal good will. The young *Metellus* had the honour of recalling his father from banishment; [*memorandum*, to expatiate on this circumstance, in conversation with my good young friends, while passing by the place of the *Porta Capena*] and was deservedly ever afterwards, even to this day, known by the name of *Metellus Pius*. *Memorable for ever for his filial love!* thus did he by his persevering goodness to his parent when in adversity, gain a much more glorious title, than what any victory or conquered country had ever conferred on any of the other heroes of his family.



THERE is scarce any part of these *Roman* conversations which the compiler more earnestly wishes to describe in a proper manner, than the moving conversation which arose between these three worthy young *Englishmen* on reading this last

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last paragraph of *Crito's* paper, however incorrect and unfinished.

BUT he cannot pretend to describe it. He must desire the readers to supply this defect from their own imaginations.

\* \* \*

THE young gentlemen returned from their morning's excursion to their lodgings on *Monte Pinciano*. As they drew near to that part of the town, they overtook *Crito* in the street, and stopt to take him up into the coach. *Crito*, since his visit to the sick *Irish* student, had been walking about to several other places; and been busy, *usque ad defatigationem*, in several other works of charity. Of all these he said not one word to the company; but in relation to the poor *Hibernian*, he enlarged, in the most cordial manner, on every circumstance and expression of joy, which that young man had shewn on being blessed that morning with so great and seasonable a relief.

THE young nobleman seemed *happy to the heart* at this account. From a principle of modesty however he changed the subject of the conversation. He returned *Crito* thanks for his paper of memorandums, relative to the character of *Metellus*, which they had been just now reading at  
the



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the foot of *Metella's* tomb. In order to turn the conversation still further off from the subject of his own praise, he began to make some observations on the *architecture* of that fabric. How strangely, added he, is that beautiful edifice disgraced by the fragments of *Gothic* fortification on its summit\*? How low and miserable must the state of this city have been in the times of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, when *Metella's* tomb, the arch of *Titus*, and temple of *Janus* were turned into *Gothic* forts?

THE miserable discords and civil wars of those times were strongly revived in my memory, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, when on our first entering the town of *Sienna*, we saw almost every house fortified against its neighbour by a *Gothic* tower.

THE conversation was now entirely fixed on the *Italian* history during those miserable ages: but as that topic has no connection with the antient *Roman* history, it seems very improper to trouble the reader with any thing concerning it.

FOR the same reasons it may be proper to be silent as to the transactions of this set of worthy men during the remainder of the day. All their actions at every time and in every place were  
good

\* See *Montfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 11.

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good and laudable : but we are confined to the relation of those only, which bear some connection to the principal object of these conversations.

THEY separated towards evening. At that time the eldest of the young gentlemen locked himself up in his closet, and employed himself there till midnight in the study of *Sallust's Jugurthine war* : in the reading of which he was particularly attentive to the character of *Memmius*. The young nobleman went to a concert at the palace of one of the *Roman* princesses. *Crito* walked to the lodgings of the *Irish* student, having heard that the fever was come on him more violently since the morning. *Crito's* pupil highly pleased himself by writing a letter to *London*. In that letter the munificence of his truly noble friend was by no means forgot. This letter was written indeed *solely for the sake* of transmitting to *England* an early and full account of that noble act of charity.

CHAP. III.

THIRTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THIS morning the young gentlemen went early to *Crito's* lodgings, but were informed, that he had fat up all night with the sick *Irisb* painter, and was gone at present to refresh himself by a walk in the *Negroni* gardens at the foot of the *Viminal* hill.

THEY followed him, and found him there standing alone before that portico, in which are the two famous statues \* *called* those of *Sylla* and *Caius Marius*.

LITTLE did I expect, said the young nobleman with a benevolent smile, to have met you, dear sir, in *such bad* company; especially after your having past a whole night in so charitable a manner. It still more surprizes me, as you proposed to enter to-day on the character of *Rutilius*: *Rutilius*, whom *Velleius* styles *virum non sæuli sui, sed omnis ævi optimum*; and whom yourself have frequently, in my hearing, called the best man of heathen

\* It is not absolutely certain that these two statues represent those two characters. One of them is indeed universally agreed to be that of *Caius Marius*: but as to the other, the opinions of antiquarians differ.

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heathen Rome. To *Rutilius's* character you proposed, I think, to join that of *Scævola*..

I COULD have wished indeed, replied *Crito*, that instead of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Rutilius* and *Scævola* had been seated on these curule chairs. If the sculptor's art had been employed on such *worthy* subjects, I believe our two young friends will acknowledge, that no academic grove filled with the statues of true philosophers, no senate-house adorned with those of true patriots, would have been more venerable than *this* small portico.

BUT it was with *these* two bloody tyrants that *Rutilius* and *Scævola* lived. As long as good men continue in this world, they must continue also liable to be injured and persecuted by the wicked. The time will soon come, *the hour of death*, when they will be separated for ever and for ever.

*CRITO* now stood silent for some moments. He then leaned on the rails of the portico, and proceeded in the following manner.

IF I am to be permitted to trouble you this morning with something like a college lecture on the character of *Rutilius*, in what manner can I better begin it, than by observing that he lived in the midst of the greatest wickedness, yet never did he



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he abate his goodness, nor degenerate from the happy and exalted state of mind, in which his integrity had placed him?

The method by which he preserved himself from the contagion of such bad examples is highly worthy our attention. *Rutilius* was from his youth a sincere *lover* not only of literature but of virtue. He was in his youth placed under the guidance of the most *virtuous persons* of his times: he afterwards continued always to keep himself connected with good men, and (*what is far more beneficial*) constantly employed in the study of good, that is *virtuous books*.

BUT let us, while talking on such a subject, turn with abhorrence from *these* two infernal characters.

—*Geminæ pestes, cognomine Diræ*  
*Quas, & Tartaream Nox intempesta Megæram*  
*Uno eodemque tulit partu.*

LET us retire in this solemn walk of lofty cypresses, and fix our thoughts on *Rutilius*: whose memory indeed is, in comparison with *theirs*, as sweet and balmy; as in comparison with a sick chamber, this fresh morning air is; breathing as it does by that fountain, and over that orange-garden now all in flower.

THM

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THE company now passed between the two fountains up into the cypress-walk: their conversation was on the wretched times of *Marius* and *Sylla*.

THE *Roman* history of this age, (said *Crito*, taking out his roll of papers, and addressing himself to the young nobleman) seems to resemble a picture, in which are some very strong lights surrounded with deep shades. For dismal and black as this age was in general, yet was it illuminated by some few illustrious examples, whose virtues poured forth excessive splendor. Among innumerable multitudes of wicked men, it produced some few persons of such glorious characters, as (to use some of *Tully's* expressions) *vix ut nati sed ab aliquo Deo fieri esse videantur*.

PERHAPS the same observation will hold in some measure true in relation to the history of *all* bad times. I remember some *Latin* verses of one of our countrymen, which may be applied to this subject.

*DEUM nam tempore in omni  
Dispersisse velut stellas hinc inde locorum  
Splendidiora animi quasi quædam lumina, ut illis  
Accensa exemplis se degener efferat ætas.*

It

IT is impossible for a student of history to find any more pleasing objects of his contemplations, than such characters as these.

IN the venerable volumes of sacred history we see with admiration and love the most holy, the most beneficent persons condescending to live in the midst of a *generation of vipers*. But let me check these thoughts, nor improperly intermingle sacred meditations in a course of studies which are of another nature.

## RUTILIUS RUFUS.

**R**UTILIUS Rufus passed his early years under the direction of *Scipio Æmilianus*, and *Metellus Numidicus*. He gave, it is probable, due attention to the best part of their characters: though in general it must be owned by their greatest admirers, that *Rutilius had more understanding in the science of virtue than either of these his teachers*.

My papers of memorandums relating to this subject contain some other more venerable names. *Facillimè & in optimam partem, cognoscuntur adolescentes, qui se ad claros & sapientes.—R. Rutilii adolescentiam ad opinionem & innocentie & juris*  
 VOL. I. E *scientie,*

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*scientiæ, P. Mucii commendavit domus \*.—Ejus adolescentis familiaritate delectatus est C. Lælius sapiens †.*

BUT let us proceed to his more mature years. *Rutilius* passed much of his life in study; and with such application as to become in course of time the most learned man of *Rome*.

HE made a very great progress in the study of the laws of his country: but his favourite sciences were *Grecian literature, history, and moral philosophy*. He himself wrote the *history* of his own country, and of his own life: (both of which works are unfortunately lost) in *philosophy* he advanced so far, as to be justly esteemed both in knowledge and practice the most perfect of the stoic sect.

*RUTILIUS* was endowed also with great *military* abilities, and with true *political* merit. He rose to the highest offices of the state.

YOU, dear sir, (in saying this *Crito* turned to the eldest of his young friends) will not be surprised, that coming to such honours after such a preparation *Rutilius* should willingly labour, incessantly and indefatigably labour, for the security of

\* *Cic de Officiis, lib. ii. c. 13.*

† *Cic. in Lælio.*



his own country, and the benefit of all mankind.

HE was consul at the time when the Roman dominions were threatened with destruction by the vast inundation of the *Cimbri* and *Teutons*; those types of the *Goths* \* and *Huns*. *Mallius*, his colleague in the consulship, was defeated by them. *Periere, duo Mallii filii, cum octoginta millibus Romanorum sociorumque, itemque calorum & lixarum millibus quadraginta. Non ex omni numero amplius decem hominibus, qui nuncii cladis essent, effugere †.*

*Timor Romæ grandis fuit quantus vix Annibalis tempore bellis Punicis ‡.*

THOUGH it was not the fortune of *Rutilius* to be opposed to the formidable and victorious enemy in the field, yet had he the merit of being the great supporter of his country against them.

IN that exigence of his country he formed a power which supplied amply her great loss. He levied fresh forces, and disciplined them with the greatest care. That this his discipline was in

\* The *Cimbri* and *Teutons* overflowed Germany, France, and Spain, almost in the same manner as the *Goths* and *Vandals* did five centuries afterwards.

† *Frensh*, lib. lxvii. c. 5.

‡ *Eutropius*, lib. 5.

reality something very important in the military art, seems manifest from several circumstances: first, because the exercise of the *campi doctores*, then instituted by *Rutilius*, continued always afterwards part of the *Roman* art of war: and secondly, because *Caius Marius*, when he marched against the *Cimbri*, chose these new levies thus raised and disciplined by *Rutilius*, in preference to his own veteran troops, which he had commanded while in *Afric*. *Sic effectus* (says *Frenshemius*) *ille exercitus est, qui postea C. Mario ducente, terrorem Europe Cimbrosque, Teutonesque prostravit.*

BUT it is by no means fuitable to my profession to be talking of the art military. In relation to the military history of *Rome* at this period, you must recollect many sensible reflections made by your acquaintance the *French* officer at *Aix* in *Provence*; and also by the officer in the *Sardinian* service, with whom you viewed the plain of *Vercelli*.

BUT there is one part of *Rutilius's* discipline, on which an ecclesiastic may speak with propriety I mean *Rutilius's* behaviour to his son, whom (*credo Q. Metelli imperatoris sui exemplum secutus*) he obliged to begin his military profession in the very lowest rank. The young man served without any indulgence or distinction as a common legionary soldier, in that very army in which his  
father

father presided as general, and as consul; and thus, by long practice of obedience, learnt how to make himself at length worthy to command.

PERMIT me, dear sir, said *Crito's* pupil, to recollect some of your observations, which I heard when at *Vercelli*. While we two were returning alone from the plain to the inn, you observed to me, I well remember, that *Caius Marius*, though very brave and able himself, yet owed much of his glory to the labours of other men; such as *Metellus Rutilius*, and *Catulus*. The glory of the great victory at *Vercelli* in particular was attributed to *Marius*, though certainly *Catulus* had a more just claim \*. Such a robbery of glory, you observed, sometimes happens to men of very great and real merit: as if on purpose that they might be taught to elevate their aims and designs to a much more certain, as well as more noble object, than the praise of mankind.

I RECOLLECT also your observation in relation to *Catulus*. How unworthy soever of commendation the memory of that *Roman* may be in general, yet some of his actions were very laudable: particularly his gratitude and piety in building a tem-

\* *Caio Mario & Q. Catulo contra Cimbros pugnatum est. Sed a Catuli parte felicius. In prælio tria & triginta signa Cimbris sublata sunt: ex his exercitus Marii duo reportavit, Catuli exercitus xxxi.*

ple on account of the victory at *Vercelli*, and dedicating it with this humble inscription:

FORTUNÆ HUIUS DIEI.

BUT pardon me for this interruption, (my two friends here, I am sure, will excuse it) and pray return to your *Rutilius*.

WITH peculiar pleasure, replied *Crito*, ought I to resume the subject of this morning's conversation: for we are now coming to that part of *Rutilius's* life, which is so very laudable, that the most christian philosopher or saint may condescend to consider it with approbation, though unaccustomed to exercise his contemplation on any object beneath the virtues of heaven,

IT is the glory of many heroes of the christian church, that they were indefatigable in doing good to mankind; courageous and patient in suffering evil; evil inflicted on them for having done that good. Does not the history of *Rutilius's* life contain some virtues of a *similar*, though inferior species?

*RUTILIUS*, in the 98th year before the christian æra, accompanied *Scævola* to his government of *Asia Minor*, and greatly assisted that  
excellent



excellent man in relieving the miseries of the inhabitants of that large and populous province.

It seemed indeed a most happy omen of the admirable wisdom and goodness of *Scævola's* government, that he began it by making choice of this his virtuous friend *Rutilius* as his lieutenant-governor and principal counsellor; nor, on the other hand, was it a less honour to *Rutilius* himself, that he was chosen by such a man to be his fellow-labourer in such a work.

THEIR united examples produced very happy effects even in *other* provinces. For suffer me to add, (a note on my paper reminds me of this circumstance) that it seems much to the honour of this part of the *Roman* history, that about this same time *Sicily* also was blessed with good governors. *Asellio* and *C. Longus* imitated in that province the glorious conduct of *Scævola* and *Rutilius* in *Asia*. Permit me to read to you some few lines, which I find I have transcribed in my memorandum papers on this account from *Frensbemius*, lib. lxx. c. 13, 14.

*L. Asellio, quem recens Q. Scævula gloria laudabili emulatione accenderat, optimum ex amicis C. Longum secum in Siciliam legatum & adiutorem duxit. Hujus consiliis & operâ (& etiam Publii, Romani equitis, quem vidit & valdè laudat Diodorus)*

dorus) *Asellio jurisdictionem suam præclarè absolvit: optima instituta toto imperii sui tempore constanter retinuit: Et ita decessit ex Sicilia, ut quam intraverat miserrimè adfectam insulam, eam tantum non ad pristinae felicitatis exemplum beatam florentemque relinqueret.*

WALKING and reading at the same time, *Crito* had thus far proceeded in his paper, when, being come to some antique stone chairs, (which are placed in that central part of the *Negroni* garden, from whence there is a view of the noble northern front of the adjoining church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*) he begged leave to sit down: the company sat down with him, and for some time entered into conversation on the nature and great importance of *provincial* government.

I HAVE often wished, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, to find some well-written treatise on the nature and duties of *provincial* government. How happy would it have been, if *Rutilius*, or *Scævola*; or if in later times *Pliny* had left any thing in writing on this subject? The nature of this office they must have well understood, as they practised so well its duties.

BUT how happy above all, if the book written expressly on this account by *Tully* for the use of his brother had been till now preserved? From  
the

the noble contents of his first epistle, *ad Quintum fratrem*, we may make some estimate of the excellence of that treatise.

SUCH a treatise must surely have been capable of producing great good in those ages; when the happiness of many *European, Asiatic, and African* provinces depended on the wisdom and goodness of their governors, the great men of this city.

THE general precepts of it would also doubtless be in great measure applicable to the *American* governments of modern times.

SOME few evenings ago I passed a solitary hour in that magnificent church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*. The first gold, which ever came to *Europe* from the *West Indies*, was, it is said, employed in the rich gilding of the inside of that church. While I sat admiring it, I could not avoid reflecting, how blessed and heavenly a work might have been done in the times of the first discovery of *America*. If the *European* governors of its vast provinces had been then actuated by the true spirit of the duty of their office, what great honour and benefit, what infinite advantage might they have procured mutually to the inhabitants both of the old and new world?

EVEN

## 58 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book III.

EVEN at present, it should seem probable, that very considerable good may be done in *America* by the governors of our own provinces, in several different respects, but particularly if they, or rather if some of the great men in the government at home, would endeavour by some good and wise new laws, to alleviate the heavy yoke, under which our negro-slaves groan. But full as *Englishmen* are of the noblest ideas of liberty, property, and the natural rights and equality of mankind, how little do they ever think of applying those principles to *this* case?

BUT let me not interrupt our good instructor any longer: let us return to the consideration of *Rutilius* and *Scævola's* government.

TO-MORROW, replied *Crito*, when we shall be engaged in the life of *Scævola*, (for, contrary to my first intention, I must desire leave to defer the consideration of his character till to-morrow) we may talk more at large on this subject. At present, if you please, we will confine our attention to *Rutilius*; and proceed to consider him *in the following most shining part of his history; as suffering for the good which he had done.*



IT is no wonder, that a person of such a character as *Rutilius* should be envied and hated by



by the bad: but it strongly marks the extreme wickedness and vileness of the *Romans* of his time, that there should be found among them, men so lost to all sense of gratitude and truth, as most impudently to accuse him before the principal tribunal of his country, as guilty of oppression in the province of *Asia*; *him*, whose conduct there was most remarkably the contrary; *him*, the history of whose whole life really was in all its parts *exemplum summæ innocentiae & sanctitatis*. But the extreme malice of *Rutilius's* enemies (as is frequently the case) served only to crown him 92. with still greater honour and happiness.

PERMIT me, continued *Crito*, looking on his papers of notes, and addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen, to refer you for the particulars of this history to *Frensbemius's* ample and elegant compilation \*. On your return to

\* *Judicia publica adversus pestilentes ciues instituta, jam in perniciem bonorum vertebantur. P. Rutilius, cum confessione omnium probitatis atque innocentiae exemplum haberetur, repetundarum postulabatur, longissime a moribus ejus abhorrente crimine. Sed quia contra publicanorum injuriam Asiam defenderat, conspiratione equitum, penes quem ordinem tum erant judicia, facile & calumniatores improbos, & judices perjuros nactus est. Et quo magis sciamus, quales potissimum habuerit adversarios, præcipuus ei condemnationis auctor Apicius extitit: haud minùs iis temporibus luxu infamis quàm postea Tiberio imperante Marcus fuit.*

*Sed res tam indigna non oppressit virtutem clarissimi viri: sed illustravit. Jam primum neque capillum barbamve reorum more promisit, vestemve mutavit, aut deprecatus quenquam est: & quum*

60 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book III.

to your lodging this morning, I could wish, that while I am taking an hour's sleep (for I begin to find myself rather faint from my fatigue of last night) you, dear sir, would be so kind as to read and converse on those chapters with your two worthy friends,

*quum summis orationibus L. Crasse, M. Antonio amicis uteretur, neutrum adhibere voluit, injuriam interpretatus innocentiam, siquæ malos quandoque defendisset eloquentia, ad eam in suo periculo confugere videretur: paulum partium C. Cottæ tribuit, disertissima adolescenti, sed sororis filio. Dixit & causam illam ex parte quâdam Q. Mucius, qui proconsul illius in Asia fuerat, majore vir jurisprudentiæ quàm eloquentiæ famâ. Ceterum ipse P. Rutilius Socratem Atheniensem imitatus, quum præter pecunias captas, multa quæ ad suspicionem stuprorum atque libidinum pertinerent audivisset, ita respondit, ut objecta quidem perspicuè dilueret: ceterum neque supplicaret judicibus, neque verbum ei ullum mollius aut viro bono indignum efflueret, reique magis publicæ, quàm suam vicem miseraretur. Sed ille, quum opinione bonorum omnium pro absoluto haberetur, scelere judicum, non sine gemitu civitatis, est condemnatus.*

*Hujus tam infamis operis particeps etiam fuisse C. Marius creditur per inimicitiam Metelli infestus Rutilio, & communi adversus bonos odio, quorum veris meritisque laudibus barbarum ingenium gravabatur. Idcirco Rutilius nullo inter tales commorandi desiderio, Mitylenem reliquâ urbe migravit, quanquam exilium ei non jussum erat. Bona tamen publicata; majore rubore judicum, quàm domini damno. Minorem enim ei pecuniam fuisse, quàm æstimata lis esset, eamque omnem justis legitimisque titulis ad eam pervenisse patefactum est.*

*Itaque neque auctoritas summi viri, neque facultates ullum ex hoc judicio detrimentum passæ, quin magis ornata, auctæque fuerunt. Simul enim Asiam eum petere percrebuit, omnes provinciæ civitates legatos obviam miserunt, ubicunque secessum optavisses, officia sua deferentes: & proficiscenti, ne quid deesset, Q. Mucii liberalitas providerat: deinde in Asiam ingressum quotquot illum antea reges nationesque cognorant, tanta accipere munera coegerunt, ut multo copiosior esset exul, quàm ante judicium consularis in urbe fuerat.*

*Exulere aliquis hoc loco an triumphare justius dixerit?*

Frenshemius, lib. lxx. c. 52, 53, 54, 55.

### Chap. III. RUTILIUS. 61

FROM *Frenshemius's* compilation you will turn with pleasure to your favourite book *Tully de Oratore*: a book which will now probably afford you particular entertainment, as we are now engaged in those times of the *Roman* history, in which the famous orators, (the heroes of that fable) *Crassus* and *Antony*, flourished. In the first part of that treatise, you will find a chapter or two relative to *Rutilius*; from which *Frenshemius* has transcribed several lines, with but little alteration.

PERMIT me only to observe at present from my memorandum-papers, that *Rutilius* in the former part of his life had always disapproved of the arts of oratory, then commonly used to captivate the minds of the magistrates, while seated on the tribunal of justice. *Neque verò solum hæc dixit sed & ipse sensit & fecit. In sua enim causâ non modo supplex iudicibus esse noluit, sed ne ornatius quidem causam dici suam, quàm simplex oratio veritatis ferebat. Imitatus est homo Romanus & consularis veterem illum Socratem, qui cum omnium sapientissimus esset, sanctissimèque vixisset, in iudicio capitis ita pro se dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse iudicum.* Surely, dear sir, never was there a more majestic appearance at the bar either of the *Atbenian* or *Roman* tribunal, than that of these two great men.

Non

60 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book III.

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NOB

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NOR ought we to look on the exile of *Rutilius* (which, together with the confiscation of his fortune was the most unjust consequence of this trial) in any other light, than as the greatest happiness which could possibly have been contrived for him. It is indeed very much to be observed, that, how contrary soever appearances may sometimes be, yet, on the whole, happiness even here, is never lost; it is often encreased by rigorously adhering to virtue.

*Si enim Romam statim secuti sunt casus, ut donatum illi a diis immortalibus exilium esse videretur.* (Let me apply some expressions of *Tully* and of *Xenophon* to this subject.) *Ego enim te, Rutili, cum virtute, tum exilii opportunitate Θεοφιλεστωτον νομίζω.* Nam tibi pro virtute animi constantiaque tuâ civilis ferri subeunda fuit crudelitas, aut si qua te fortuna à cæde vindicasset, eadem esse te funerum patriæ spectatorem coegisset.

THAT *Rutilius* was sensible of this his happiness, is manifest from his refusal of the offer which *Sylla* made to restore him; and from his answer to one of his friends, who told him, when he left *Rome*, as a comfort, *Brevi instare bella civilia; Et omnes exules redituros: Quid tibi feci, respondit Rutilius, ut mihi multò pejorem reditum quàm exitum optares?*

PROVIDENCE

PROVIDENCE indulgently removed him far from the horrid scenes of the civil wars and tyrannic cruelties of *Marius* and *Sylla*. (In saying this, *Crito* turned to his pupil.)

Εκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὑπάγε Ζεὺς ἔκτε κοῖνης  
 Ἐκ δ' ἀνδροκταφίης, ἐκ Σαίματ' ἔκτε κυδοίμῃ.

FAR removed from the sad spectacles of the extreme wickedness and punishments of his country, *Rutilius* found himself settled in the most beautiful part of the world, the *Asiatic* coast, the country of *Homer*. Prosecuting there at ease his literary studies, *ea habuit solatia quæ non modo sedatis molestiis jucunda, sed etiam hærentibus salutaria esse possunt.*

I WISH I had some exact chronological tables, which would inform me what philosophers or other learned men were then living in *Assa Minor*. I should be glad, my dear pupil, if you would examine that point. It will be some pleasure to you to find the names of those who were probably the friends or learned acquaintance of *Rutilius* during his residence in that land. But to proceed.

SEVERAL years did he live in honour, peace, and plenty among the grateful *Asiatics*; and when  
 at

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at last that unhappy nation, seduced by the instigations of *Mitbridates*, and driven almost to madness by the continued tyranny of the *Roman* governors, rose in one general insurrection on their oppressors; when in one day all the spacious provinces of that country streamed with blood, (every person that bore the name of *Italian*, whether masters or servants, women or children, being without pity massacred, to the number of eighty thousand) even then *Rutilius's* goodness seems to have been his protection.

THE antient writers indeed attribute the preservation of *Rutilius* to the circumstance of his having on that day, when the dreadful tumult first began, put on a *Grecian* instead of a *Roman* habit: and indeed it seems very probable that such a disguise in that scene of general confusion, might, under providence, be of great service to him. But I cannot help thinking that (known so well as *Rutilius* was in that country) many *Asiatics* must gladly have winked at his escape.

HISTORY contains several instances of mercy shewn to particular persons in the midst of the most furious national revenge. I find I have noted down on my memorandum-papers two of those instances.

IN



IN the *Sicilian* vespers, which perhaps may be not improperly compared to this *Asiatic* massacre, the people in the height of their vindictive rage spared two *French* gentlemen \*. One of them was *Guillaume des Porcelets*; who in the government of *Calata Fimi* (where he commanded several years) had always distinguished himself by his equity, moderation, mildness, and piety. He owed his life entirely to the impression, which his virtue had made on all under his government; and by universal consent he was allowed a well-furnished ship to convey him wherever he pleased. The other was *Philip de Scalambre*, governor of the *Valley of Noto*; he was highly esteemed for wisdom and liberality, and had always discountenanced the licentiousness of his countrymen: his preservation also was the effect of the high idea universally entertained of his justice and philanthropy.

IN the more antient history of *Sicily*, said *Crito's* pupil, (after some pause of recollection) I think I remember an action of the same kind. Was not the daughter of *Damophilus* spared on the same account in the times of *Eunus* †? But her

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F

virtue

\* See *Villaret's History of France*.

† *Filiæ quidem Damophili, quæ adhuc in puellari ætate constituta erat, modis omnibus pepercerunt: quod ingenio mitis servitiam parentum quâ poterat humanitate emendabat, fomenta verberatis, alimenta*

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virtue was not of a public nature, like that of *Philip de Scalambre* or *Rutilius*. Her merit was confined *intrâ domesticos parietes*; though surely it was not therefore less lovely.

BUT pleasing as this subject is, let us not dwell on it any longer. The paleness of your cheeks shews too plainly how much you want some rest and refreshment after the fatigues of your charitable vigils of last night. Let us persuade you to return to your lodgings. The coach is standing at the garden-gate: let us wait on you to it: and let me promise you, in the name of my two dear friends here, that we will not disturb you during the remainder of the day.



*CRITO* being gone home, the rest of the company began to consider in what manner they might best employ the remainder of the morning. The young nobleman proposed to make a visit to the

*alimenta nexis dilargiendo. Quibus rebus eam apud omnes comparavit gratiam, ut inter hanc conversionem fortunæ, in tantâ illâ hominum agrestium & perditorum licentiâ fuerit nemo, qui ullâ eam injuriâ vel afficere vellet, vel affici pateretur. Sic inter ips per aliquod tempus modestè verecundeque servata; mox, consensu cæterorum, ab Hermia cujus in eâ defectione primaria auctoritas fuit, ad Cataneasium urbem, ubi propinques habebat, deducta est.*

*Frensh. lib. 56. c. 35.*

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the *French* academy in the *Corso* \* ; his two friends readily consented to attend him thither.

AT the gate of that academy they accidentally met two *French* gentlemen, with whom the *English* nobleman had made some acquaintance in the preceding year during his stay at *Paris* : one a young marquis of high rank and fortune ; the other a very sensible ecclesiastic his tutor.

MUCH mutual pleasure was expressed on this accidental meeting. The marquis, after some time passed in observing the curiosities of the academy with the *English* gentlemen, earnestly pressed them to honour him with their company at dinner to-day. This invitation was the more readily accepted, as they imagined that *Crito* would after his late fatigue be very glad to be left alone for some hours.

AT table, after much general and lively conversation, the *English* nobleman politely introduced the topic of the magnificent and glorious designs of *Louis* the XIVth. But before that topic was near exhausted, the conversation accidentally wan-

F 2

dered

\* *Pallazzo dell' academia, instituta da Luigi XIV. Re di Francia, per i nazionali Francesi studiosi della pittura, scultura, & architettura ; colla liberal permissione al publico di essercitarvisi in tali arti per il comodo della esposizione quotidiana del Nudo, & dei modelli delle piu rare statue ed altri segni della Romana magnificenza, sì antichi, che moderni.*

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dered to the history of *France* during the preceding reigns. The eldest of the young *Englishmen* dwelt with pleasure on the many amiable parts of the character of *Henry* the Fourth. The *French* ecclesiastic spoke with due horror of the civil wars during the reigns of *Henry* the Third, and *Charles* the Ninth.

ON rising from table the company divided. The two young noblemen went together to make their afternoon visits to some of the foreign ambassadors, and concluded the evening at an assembly in the palace of one of the *Roman* princesses.

The eldest of the *English* gentlemen being desirous of making the best use of this opportunity to inform himself in some *particulars* relative to the *French* civil wars, (the history of which he had formerly read with great application in *Davila* and other writers) prevailed on the learned *French* abbé to take an evening's airing with him in the coach between *Porta del Popolo* and *Ponte Molle*. He afterwards retired to his lodgings, and sat down to his parliamentary studies.

*CRITO*'s pupil took a short evening ride, accompanied by his grey-headed *English* servant : an honest and grateful servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years ; and who, notwithstanding



### Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 69

ing his *now* advanced time of life, *would* attend his dear young master in all the dangers and fatigues of this long *Italian* journey. His young master had given him the name of *Adam*, in allusion to a character of the same worthy temper described in *Shakespear's* *AS YOU LIKE IT*.

THEY rode towards *Monte Mario*, antiently called *Clivus Cinna*. Coming to the bottom of the hill, the young gentleman left his horses; and not being willing to fatigue the old man, told him to refresh himself for an hour with the best liquor he could find at an adjoining public-house.

IN the mean time he ascended on foot that steep hill alone, followed only by his favourite *Trey*, a pointer bred in *England* in the stables of his father's country-seat. In the ascent he stopt for some time, to admire the beautiful porticos of *Villa Madama*, of which *Raphael* was the architect. He sat down also for some time in that part of the gardens, where the famous pastoral of the *Pastor Fido*, was first acted, and which place is indeed exactly suited for such a representation; being a rural and romantic theatre, surrounded by scenes of real rock-work, and adorned by real prospects through the grove of the windings of the *Tiber*\*.

F 3

FROM

\* It is said, that since the year 1761, the delightfulness of *Monte Mario*, and of *Villa Madama*, has been very considerably

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FROM thence, ascending still higher, this young *English* poet came to the spot, near which the small villa of *Julius Martialis* is supposed to have been situate.

*Juli jugera pauca Martialis  
Hortis Hesperidum beatiora  
Longo Janiculi jugo recumbunt.  
Hinc septem dominos videre montes,  
Et totam licet æstimare Romam,  
Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles\*.*

MEDITATING on this description, and comparing it frequently with the prospect now before his eyes, he reached at length the summit. But other more important thoughts now rapidly succeeded in his mind, and absorbed his whole attention.

LOOKING on the extensive prospect before him, this benevolent youth considered with infinite pleasure the long peace, which that country has in modern times enjoyed. The modern history of *Rome* can indeed justly boast of uninterrupted peace for many centuries past.

He

ably diminished by the cutting down of those groves with which they were then adorned. Several of the pine-groves on the *Palatine* hill have also, it is said, suffered the same fate.

\* Lib. iv. ep. 64.

### Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 71

HE then began to think on the subject of his tutor's lectures, the *antient* history of the same country. He recollected with some satisfaction, that though the state and government of *antient Rome* was almost perpetually engaged in some foreign war, yet there were several periods in its history, during which the country of *Italy*, particularly the neighbourhood of *Rome*, enjoyed many of the blessings of peace.

FROM the end of the second *Punic* war to the time of *Rutilius's* banishment, that is for the space of one hundred and ten years, none of the calamities of war were seen in these regions.

DURING those hundred and ten years, reflected he with pleasure, several generations of the inhabitants of this land must have lived and died in peace: particularly those, whose fortunate situation was in private life, and who were not engaged in the turbulent politics and tumults of *Rome*.

BUT how dreadful were the general calamities which then ensued? Scarce had *Rutilius* left the land, when the infernal spirit of civil war arose, that worst of furies.

*Tempus nulla nocendi  
 Tartaream intendit vocem, quâ protinus omne  
 Contremuit nemus, & silvæ intonare profundæ.  
 Audiit & Trivie longè lacus; audit amnis  
 Sulfuræâ Nar albus aquâ, fontesque Velini,  
 Et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos.  
 Ardet inexcita Ausonia.*

REPEATING these lines he sat down; and taking out his pocket edition of *Florus*, (the poetic style of which historian was sometimes very pleasing to him) he turned to that chapter of the third book, in which some short account is given of the *Italic* or *Social* war. *Quid hæc clade tristius? quid calamitosus? Nec Annibalis fuit nec Pyrrhi tanta vastatio* \*.

SCARCE was this war ended, when the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla* began.

I COULD heartily wish, (said he to himself, laying down his *Florus*, and taking out his pencil and paper) that *Shakespear* had composed an historical

\* The combined states of all the southern parts of *Italy* took the field with an army of one hundred thousand men. *Rome*, in conjunction with its faithful allies, sent forth an equal number. The miseries of this *Italic* war are but imperfectly related by the antient historians; but they must have been very dismal, as in the space of about three years no less than three hundred thousand of the youth and flower of *Italy* were cut off.



### Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 73

historical tragedy on the subject of the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*. The first act might have opened with the march of *Sylla's* army from *Campania* to *Rome*. In the following scenes (let me indulge myself in the fancy of planning their design) might have been described the battle which was fought in the middle of the city \*, and the expulsion of the principal persons of *Marius's* party. The last scene of this first act might have been closed by *Mucius's* noble speech on that occasion †. 88.

BUT in the second act, how movingly might *Shakespeare* have represented the flight of *Marius*, and all the miseries which he suffered on the banks of the *Liris* and *Bagrada*?

IN

\* See *Appian's* reflections on this event.

Ὅδε μὲν αἱ ῥασις ἐξ ἐριδῶ καὶ φιλονικίας ἐπὶ φωνῆς, καὶ ἐκ φωνῶν ἐς πολέμου ἐπιλείς προεκοπτον. καὶ στρατῶ πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτῶ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολέμου ἐσβαλε, ὑδ' ἔλξαν ἀπο ταύτῃ αἱ ῥασις ἐπὶ κρηνομένοι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλ' ἰοβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγγιγοντό, καὶ τειχομαχίαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολέμων ἐργα ἔδυντο ἐπὶ ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιάζομένοις ἔμποδον οὐτῶ ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας, ἢ πατρίδῶ.

Εμφυλίων. Α.

† *Ejus nobile factum non est silentio praterendum. Cum L. Sylla victor armatis circumdedit curiam, eoque C. Marium hostem decernere cupienti nemo auderet negare, solus Q. Mucius sententiam dicere noluit. Non ita, inquit, gladios tuos extimesco, ut propter has senilis sanguinis tennes, reliquias hostem judicare C. Marium sustineam, à quo Italiam & hanc urbem conservatam memini.*

Lib. lxxvii. c. 29, 30.

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IN the third act, (let me consider a little what would properly come next) the slaughter in the forum during the consulship of *Cinna* and *Octavius* might be described: the insurrection of the *Latins* and other *Italian* nations under *Cinna*: the battle under the walls of *Rome*, when brother was slain by brother: (a scene of horror similar to that in *Henry the Sixth* \*) then the dreadful return of *Marius*, and his appearance at the gates of *Rome*.

— Black be stood as night :  
Fierce as ten furies : terrible as hell.

THE two last scenes of this third act would have been particularly striking ; as one of them might have represented *Octavius*, on this *Janiculan* hill, receiving with magnanimity the fatal stroke, while seated (like a *Roman* senator during the times of *Brennus*) in his curule chair. In the other might have been described the far different death of *Marius*, and all the horrors *δυκτερινα δειματα και ταρχωδεις ονειροι*, which preceded it.

IN the fourth act the scene might change, perhaps with less irregularity than in some of *Shakespeare's* other tragedies : It might shift to *Greece*, and shew the progress of *Sylla's Mithridatic* war,

\* Third part, act ii. scene 7.

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 75

war\*, the bloody battles of *Cheronea* and *Orcho-  
menus*, and the dismal siege of *Athens*: when 86.  
(among other much greater calamities) all the  
philosophic groves of the *academy* and *Lycæum*  
were destroyed.

BUT what shall be the argument of the fifth  
act?

IN the beginning of the 5th act, *Sylla* might  
appear as just landed in *Italy*: the three or four 83.  
following scenes might contain some of his milita-  
ry exploits there: might with due dignity repre-  
sent the grand beginning of the public life of  
*Pompey* the Great: might describe the horrid 82.  
cruelties, which young *Marius* was in the mean  
time commanding to be executed at *Rome*.

*CRITO*'s pupil was proceeding to plan out the  
remaining scenes of the last act, when he was in-  
terrupted, by his dog's barking at some persons  
who were passing by. This interruption was not  
however unwelcome, as the ardour of his ima-  
gination was by this time abated, and he began to  
be rather tired with his bloody tragedy. He turned  
round, and looking over the hedge, saw that it  
was only some devout shepherds and vinedressers  
who were returning with their families from the  
evening

\* ΕΤΙΣΙΝ ΕΚ ΟΛΟΙΣ ΤΡΙΣΙΝ ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ ΚΑΤΕΚΑΝΟΝ  
*Appian. Εμφροδίων Α.*

evening service in the adjoining chapel\*. He took out his watch, and finding it to be past four and twenty o'clock, rose from his grassy seat, and putting his books and papers in his pocket, walked down the hill.

IN the descent by the *Villa Madama* he viewed the curve of the *Tiber* then immediately beneath him, and recollected the *similar* prospect from *Richmond-hill*. He justly gave the preference to the *English* landscape.

FROM *Richmond-hill* his thoughts made a quick transition to his father's country-seat, and to the villas of some of his neighbouring country friends. He had indeed a particular inducement to think frequently on one of those villas, on account of a fair inhabitant, a young lady, with whom on his return from his travels, he knew that his good father wished to see him united. His own heart also entertained a worthy passion for her: while at college, while on his travels, his poetical thoughts had frequently dwelt with ardour on her idea. During this evening walk, sometimes gathering and

\* Per varie vie rurali si giunge sulla cima dell' monte. — Dalla parte di ponente vi sono le spaziose vigne con varie casini per uso degli operari, ed uno in particolare e riservato per li padroni, volendo godere il beneficio dell' aria salutare, che ivi regna. Percio vi sono tutti li commodi per la villeggiatura, e una cappella publica per commodo di quella grande contrada.

Vasi descrizione della villa Madama.



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and smelling the flowers which grew in profusion by the side of the path; sometimes enjoying the melody of the birds, or admiring the verdure of the adjoining vineyards; he repeated with extacy the following elegant lines.

*Surge age, Deliciæ meæ.*

*Formosa mea, & veni.*

*Ecce enim hiems præteriit;*

*Pluvia tempestas transiit, abiit.*

*Apparent bumi flosculi;*

*Tempus adest cantûs avium*

*Et vox turturis etiam in terrâ nostrâ auditur.*

*Hic autem ficus dulci succo condivit fructus suos,*

*Et vineæ florescentes odorem diffundunt.*

*Surge age, Deliciæ meæ.*

*Formosa mea, & veni.*

## CHAP. IV.

## FOURTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ON the bank of the *Tiber*, in the place antiently known by the name of *Pulchri Litoris*, stands a small and round *antique* temple, generally supposed to be that of *Vesta*. Its beautiful circular portico is supported by twenty fluted columns of the *Corinthian* order, all of white *Parian* marble. The temple itself is entirely composed of the same rich materials: the several parts of it being so curiously joined, that the whole fabric must have originally appeared as one single mass of marble: a circumstance, as the young nobleman observed, not to be parallel'd in any other building at *Rome*.

If the architecture of this building gave him such pleasure, *Crito's* pupil was not less agreeably entertained with the pleasantness of its situation, and with the several poetic ideas which here rose in his memory. Looking to the river he immediately recollected *Horace's* exact description of this spot\*.

*Vidimus*

\* The opposite bending shore is part of *Etruria*, of which the *Tiber* was the antient boundary, and the adjoining oblong temple

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*Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis  
Littore Etrusco violenter undis  
Ire dejectum monumenta regis  
Templaque Vestæ.*

BUT with far more pleasure did he turn his eyes to the other side of the temple of *Vesta*, towards the pleasant *Palatine* hill, (whose solemn ruins were much enlivened by the fresh beauty of the many intermingled shrubs now all in leaf or flower) towards the antient square white fabric of *Janus Quadrifrons*, and the circular brick temple of *Romulus*. It was not without some classic enthusiasm that he saluted all these places with the following lines of *Virgil*:

*Di patrii Indigetes, & Romule, Vestaque mater  
Quæ Tuscum Tiberim, & Romana palatia servas.*

*CRITO* was as highly satisfied with the view of this antique building as any of the younger part of his company; though for a very different reason.

THIS elegant fabric, said he, is by some antiquarians thought to have been the temple of *Cybele*; by others that of *Apollo* or *Hercules*. It  
is

temple was built by *Servius Tullius* the sixth king of *Rome*. See book i. p. 35. See also the learned *Abate Venuti's* *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 29, 30.

is marked as the temple of *Portumnus* in the map before *Kennet's Antiquities*; (which book indeed we have generally found to be very accurate :) but, amidst all this incertitude, the opinion, which seems to prevail most at present, and which fixes on this fabric as one of the temples of *Vesta*, is perhaps the most true. Supposing this to have been really the case, how venerable ought this edifice to appear to us? The temples of *Vesta* were indeed far more awful than any other of the antient religious edifices in *Rome*: for though the worship of *Vesta* was heathenish, yet her temples never contained any statue or image, which might *strictly* be called an idolatrous representation of the Supreme Being.

AFTER some respectful pause on uttering those last expressions, *Crito* proposed to his young friends to take a short studious walk along the valley, which leads from this temple of *Vesta* to the forum.

DURING that walk, his pupil repeated the following lines of *Ovid*.

*Esse diu stultus Vestæ simulacra putavi:  
Mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo.  
Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo;  
Effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habent.*

ANOTHER



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ANOTHER of the young gentlemen spoke of the *natural* fire at *Pietra Mala* in *Tuscany*. It is said, added he, that there was antiently a temple of *Vesta* on *that* spot; though I cannot say that I remember seeing there any remains of such a building, or even any marks of its situation. If a temple of *Vesta* really stood there, it was probably in some respects similar to the fire temple, which *Hanway* describes at *Baku*, on the coasts of the *Caspian* sea.

THE conversation now wandered to *Persia*. *Crito* mentioned, not without some marks of doubt and disapprobation, the very favourable manner in which *Dr. Hyde* speaks of the antient *Persian* religion: he began also to consider the celebrated character of *Zoroaster*; when recollecting how far that digression might lead him from his present business, he brought again the discourse to its former classical subject.

EVERY *curia* or *ward* of antient *Rome*, said he, had its particular temple \* dedicated to *Vesta*. The edifice which we have been just now viewing on the banks of the *Tiber*, was probably one of those temples.

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\* See *Dionysius Halicarnassus*.

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ANOTHER of them stood on this side the *Capitoline* hill near the church of *Santa Maria delle Gratie*, and the hospital of *Santa Maria della Consolazione*. It was probably *that* temple of *Vesta*, which *Nero*, even in the height of his wickedness and power, trembled to enter \*.

BUT the *chief* temple of *Vesta* stood in the forum on your right, where you see the church of *Santa Maria Liberatrice*. We cannot be mistaken in its situation, as *Statius* in his description of the *Roman* forum †, describes it standing opposite to the temple of *Concord*.

At *that* church, if you please, we will finish our walk: we may sit down on some of the blocks of marble which lie near its porch; and, as the place is at present very solitary, you will perhaps permit me to trouble you there with one of my papers.

Q. MUTIUS

\* See *Tacitus*, *Ann.* lib. xv.

*Adiit Capitolium veneraturus Deos. Cum Veste quoque templum inivisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens seu numinis exterritus; seu facinorum recordatione nunquam timore vacuus.*

† *De Equo Domitiani*, ver. xxxi. to ver. xxxvi.

Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA,  
PONTIFEX MAX.

IF this hand, *this most unworthy hand*, should be ever employed in delineating the characters of any great and truly Christian ecclesiastics, my *principal* endeavour certainly would be to describe *their conduct in their profession*; their *pastoral* care of the people committed to their charge; and their diligence in their *religious* studies.

BUT in the character of this *beathen* high priest, the case is totally different. We must pass over in silence his conduct in his pontificate, nor speak of his learned labours, which were relative to his false religion \*.

MOST heartily indeed might it be wished, that *Scævola*, as well as the elder *Metellus*, the *Valerii*, and other antient worthies of this city †, had been enlightened with the true faith. His temperance and other moral virtues would not have been unsuitable to the highest rank in the church.

G 2

BUT

\* Some fragments of *Scævola's* works in this kind, are preserved by *Tully* and *St. Austin*. See on this occasion *Leland's* Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, shewn from the State of Religion in the antient Heathen World, tome i. p. 132, 157, 197, 255.

† See the conversation on *this same spot*, book i. p. 131. See also book ii. p. 217.

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BUT laying aside his pontifical character, let us consider his conduct in *other* stations.

THE duties of the Christian priesthood are so large and so important, as to afford the most industrious ecclesiastic sufficient employment during his whole life. ΛΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΝ ΘΕΩ ΕΝ ΟΣΙΟΤΗΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ.

BUT it was otherwise among the heathens: their flamens and pontifices, without being supposed to run any hazard of neglecting the proper work of their profession, were generally engaged in *other* business: sometimes even in *military* employments; frequently in the conduct of *civil* affairs relative to the *state*, and in the labours of the *law*.

IT was the custom here at *Rome*, as you very well know, dear sir, (continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) a custom as antient as this city itself, that the youth of the principal families should be all educated in some knowledge of the *laws* of their country, and in some practice of speaking before the public assemblies of the people. By these means, those among them, who were endowed with a proper degree of genius and industry, had it in their power when grown up, not only to be of some real service to the public in the great work of legislation,



gillation, (for how can any one pretend to make new laws, who is not acquainted with the old?) but also in private life to be very beneficent to many persons and families of inferior rank under their patronage.

AT the public tribunals, the young noblemen pleaded the causes of these their clients *gratis*. The beneficence of this employment is placed by Tully in a very strong light. *Quid tam regium, tam liberale, tam munificum, quàm opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate?*

THE elder part of the nobility (besides presiding in the several courts of justice in their offices of prætors, &c.) employed themselves also in giving gratis to their clients their learned opinions and friendly advice in matters of law. *In civitate amplissimus quisque & clarissimus vir senectutem suam ornabat tali juris interpretatione. Domus eorum, velut oraculum civitatis erat, maximâ frequentiâ civium celebrata. Stipabant illorum fores ut ait Ennius,*

*Suarum rerum incerti, quos ego ope meâ ex  
Incertis certos, competesque consili  
Dimitto, ut ne res temere traherent turbidas.*

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DR. Burnet, in his life of Lord Chief Justice Hale, takes notice that his lordship greatly admired this custom among the Romans. Let me read to you some of his own words. *The juriconsults were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employments in the state, and became the great masters of their law, and whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one classis of those materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the digests under Justinian. Lord Chief Justice Hale thought it might become the greatness of a prince to encourage such a sort of men and of studies: in which none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden; who was truly in our English law, what the old Roman juriconsults were in theirs.*

BUT let us return to Scævola. He excelled in each manner; I mean, if I may use those expressions, both as pleader, and as chamber-council. He mixed and tempered together the qualifications both of jurisprudence and eloquence, so as to become, in Tully's opinion, *inter juris peritos eloquentissimus, inter oratores juris peritissimus.*

PARDON me, dear sir, said Crito's pupil for this interruption; but, when we reflect that Tully was the scholar and disciple of Scævola, we ought not  
surely

surely to forbear expressing our pleasure in hearing this his encomium on his beloved *old* master. Many other similar passages in *Cicero's* works croud into my mind; particularly one in the beginning of his *Amicitia*. *Pontificem Scævola* *unum nostræ civitatis & ingenio & justitiâ præstantissimum audeo dicere.* But pray proceed.

*SCÆVOLA's* love of justice and of beneficence, my dear pupil, continued *Crito*, operated much farther than the limits of his own city and country. He accepted the office of governor of *Asia Minor*, on purpose to encrease and extend his power of doing good.

I LISTENED with much pleasure yesterday morning in the *Negroni* garden, to the reflections of some of this company on the subject of provincial government, and should be very glad if that conversation was now resumed. It should seem indeed probable, from several circumstances, particularly from some expressions of *Tully*, (which I met with yesterday afternoon in turning over his *Oration de lege Maniliâ*) that *Asia Minor* may justly be considered as the *Mexico* or *Peru* of the *Roman* empire.

*CRITO* said this with a kind of intention of reviving that subject of conversation, on which the eldest of the young gentlemen had yesterday

spoken with much laudable ardour; but the worthy youth modestly declined the compliment, and desired rather to attend to *Crito's* lectures, than to interrupt them. Some short mention indeed was made on this occasion of the famous bishop of *Chiapa*; of *Peter de Toledo*, the great *Peruvian* viceroy and legislator; and of several other *Europeans*, who are said to have acted well in other parts of *America*; but the conversation soon returned to *Scævola*.

IN your late *Roman* studies, continued *Crito*, you have often had occasion to observe, that the provinces of the empire were, in this age of degeneracy, groaning under the heaviest and most shameful oppression. Their governors were far from looking on the high office, by which so large a part of mankind was most solemnly committed to their care, in its true and noble light. Instead of this, their only view was that mean one of plunder and rapine; they considered their patents of government merely as licences, for repairing their fortunes broken and ruined by luxury; and for fully satisfying their tyrannical pride and avarice. In vain did the oppressed provincials cry for protection at the tribunals of *Rome*. The judges there were generally persons connected with their oppressors, and deeply stained themselves with the same crimes. For the governors willingly suffered these *Roman* judges to join, by their agents,



agents, in plundering the provinces, on condition that they themselves might be mutually protected by them (from all accusations on that head) with the greatest impunity. But with what different views did *Scævola* enter on his government? With what indignation did he look down on such leagues of iniquity as these? His maxim of government was, not to be himself burthensome in the least to his provincials, nor to suffer any other persons to be injurious to them. He served this important office *gratis*; never accepting any thing whatsoever from the *Asiatics*; but residing among them far from his own country; diligently labouring for their benefit; and in the mean time living *on his own fortune*, eating *his own bread* among them with frugality, contentment, and the greatest joy. The conscience of his own integrity enabled him also most intrepidly to defend the *Asiatics* from other oppressors, and to bring his countrymen themselves to justice. For these proud and cruel men were themselves brought before the tribunal of *Scævola*, condemned there with the most just and impartial severity, and dragged from thence to prison, or to death, by the hands of the very persons over whom they had tyrannised. A spectacle, most unexpected, but most welcome to the poor *Asiatics*: A spirit of government, which regained to *Rome* the love of all its provinces and allies;

allies; and crowned *Scævola* himself with the greatest (though unfought and undesired) glory\*.

*CRITO* now paused, and for some time fixed his eyes in silence on the ground: his usual attitude when beginning to think on any subject that was particularly solemn. His countenance for some instants bore some marks of concern and pain: but a sweet tranquility and humble resignation soon ensued in his mind, and softened all his features.

THE more good, said he, that *Scævola* thus did to others, the better was he enabled to bear adversity himself.

THE time was now come, when the misery which *Rome* had inflicted on other nations, was to be retaliated on herself. *The cup of the anger of the Lord* had been carried round many regions †, and this city was now to drink the dregs of it herself.

O MY

\* The *Asiatics*, in honour to his memory, established a perpetual annual festival, called the *Mutian Feast*. (Vid. *Cic. Verres* xi. 51.) *Et in ipsâ etiam Româ, gloriâ maximè illustris erat Scævola, utpote qui provinciam tam sanctè & tam fortiter administrasset. Senatus etiam, magistratibus deinceps in eam provinciam ituris, exemplum atque formam officii Scævola de creto suo proposuit.*

† Vide *Jeremiam*, c. 25,

O MY dear fellow-students, in turning over the history of the world, both antient and modern, what do we find to be in great measure its contents? alas! wickedness, and the punishments thereof: *scelera & pœnas*.

BUT in perusing the dismal histories of the punishment of wicked and hardened nations, we must not wonder if we should sometimes find several *good* men partaking of the national calamities, and suffering with their countries. In the present condition of things, and close connection of mankind one with another, such accidents seem inevitable.

LET me correct my words. It is wrong to call these events *accidental*, as Providence seems often by the same means and at the same time to punish some men, to correct others, and to try, and by such trials exalt the characters of the good. *Didici etiam ex hoc inscrutabile Tuum judicium expavescere; qui affligis justum cum impio, sed non sine æquitate & justitiâ \**.

LET us endeavour to consider the *Roman* history in this light; as far at least as the circumstance of their being heathens may perhaps permit us.

CRITO

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CRITO now rose from the block of marble, on which he had been sitting, and fixed his eyes on the adjoining forum.

IF I am not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, many were the bad men, who in these times greatly contributed to encrease the plagues of their country. Such were *Carbo*, *Cinna*, and young *Marius*. But the chief instruments of the divine justice seem to have been *Sylla* and the elder *Marius*; themselves the most wicked of men, and consequently the most proper to torment others.

*Whose hearts nor yells of mothers, maids, or babes ;  
Nor sight of priests in holy vestments bleeding,  
Could pierce a jot.*

YOUR quotation, replied *Crito*, is very applicable to these times. In the horrid massacres, which, as the various factions prevailed, were then frequently repeated in this city, all regard to justice or humanity was overthrown by those wicked men and their associates. For how then did *this* forum appear? Its rich pavement was all stained with blood, while many mangled bodies were dragged through it, and the neighbouring streets. How horrid a scene? *There* was the *Capitol*, half of it lay then in ruins and ashes; in the remaining part of it, in *that* ascent to the temples of *Concord* and of *Jupiter optimus maximus*,  
were



were exposed to view the *tabularia* of the empire, covered with long proscriptions. Here stood the *Rostra* like a slaughter-house, crouded with the heads of many principal persons, of several in particular who had done great good to their fellow-citizens in this very place

—*Simul ora virum præfixa videbant*  
*Nota nimis miseris, atroque fluentia tabo.*

IN one of these massacres *Scævola* retreated to the temple of *Vesta*; to that temple, which stood in that very place where you are now seated. *Scævola* expected perhaps that the place, his office, and above all the great notoriety of his excellent character might be some protection to him: or perhaps he was willing to die (as *Merula* did some few months before) in a place generally esteemed holy. 82.

SCÆVOLA had always behaved with the greatest regard to his country, with the greatest firmness and disinterestedness. In the height of his prosperity and power, when consul, he had opposed the improper exaltation of his friends: For ill-judged principles of friendship, and the prostitution of the honours and offices of trust in the public state to such principles, were indeed great causes of the national ruin. In the height of danger he had refused to enter into the civil wars,

wars, or to take up arms against his enemies, who were also his fellow-citizens. *Scævola* seems (like the priest, whom *Josephus* justly celebrates) to have thought it much better to remember always that he was the high-priest of his country, whose office was to pray for all, to endeavour to unite and reconcile all, to bless and benefit all. He died in the vestments of his priesthood. He died on this spot. *Quia servare cives per compositionem volebat, ipse ab iis interemptus est* \*.

*Dum paci medium se offert.*

TEARS seemed now to be standing in *Crito's* eyes: he wiped them, and proceeded with the following words.

AFFECTING as the fate of *Scævola* is, thus murdered at the feet of the altar of *Vesta*; yet, O my dear friends, if *Scævola* had been a Christian, if on this spot had stood at the time of his death not a Pagan temple, but as now a Christian church, how much more exalted might have been your meditations in this place?

MIGHT we not then perhaps have presumed to compare him in some inferior degree to St. *James* the bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was slain in or near the temple; or to *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*,

\* *Cic. pro Ros. Amerino*, c. 12.

*Baracbias*, who was slain between the temple and the altar?

BUT let me check these far too presumptuous thoughts: those names are certainly infinitely too holy for such a comparison.

CRITO now pausing, the young gentlemen resumed the conversation. *Crito's* pupil, and his eldest friend, made several observations on the murder of *Scævola*.

It is some comfort, said the young nobleman, to reflect that *Scævola's* great moral virtues seem to have been rewarded by the long prosperity of his family. The house of the *Marchesi Mutii* is still to this day remaining here in an honourable rank and plentiful circumstances\*. Is it not very remarkable, that no war during the time of the *Roman* republic, no tyranny of the emperors, no sword of the *Gothic* or *Lombard* invaders, no other accident in the course of so many ages, has been suffered to extirpate the families of *Publicola*, *Fabius*, and *Scævola*?

By

\* It is certain, that the *Marchesi Mutii* are a very antient family, and have subsisted these last eight hundred years with this title and tradition of their pedigree. Their present estate is about 1500*l.* per annum. They have two good palaces, and several fiefs in land.

\* \* \*

By *Crito's* desire the company now stepped into their coach, which stood waiting for them at some distance, and took a short airing for an hour or two in the country on the eastern side of *Rome*. During this excursion they frequently looked towards the distant hills of *Palæstrina*, and recol-  
 82. lected the bloody end of young *Marius* in that unhappy city.

As they were re-entering *Rome* by the *Porta Salaria*, (which gate stands on the spot or near the place of the antient *Porta Collina*) *Crito* reminded  
 82. them of the great battle fought on that spot between the armies of *Telestinus* and *Sylla*, in which fifty thousand men perished on each side.

FROM the *Salarian* gate, they drove again down towards the *Capitol*, and turning short on their right at the *Venetian* palace, proceeded along the *Corso* towards the *Piazza di Spagna*.

IN passing by the *Venetian* palace, *Crito* observed that on that spot stood the *Villa Publica* \*, where *Sylla* immediately after his victory over  
*Telestinus*,

\* See Abate *Venuti's* description of *Rome*, vol. ii. p. 40. *Tempio di Bellona era sotto il Campidoglio, &c.*



#### Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 97

*Telefinus*, executed an act of horror, far more dreadful than the slaughters of any field of battle\*.

BUT why, said he, should I thus lead you, step by step, along the bloody track of the footsteps of this cruel man? Every part of *Rome*, every part of *Italy*, were witnesses of some of his dreadful deeds. Your minds, I am sure, loath the subject. Let us hasten to our lodgings; let us finish there this morning what remains of *Sylla's* history; and then never mention his name more.

ARRIVED at *Crito's* pupil's lodgings, the company went into *Crito's* apartment, and seating themselves round his table, gave their attention to some papers which he read to them. These papers were chiefly extracts from *Frensbemius*, relative to *Sylla's* dictatorship.

VOL. II.

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\* *Octo hominum millia Sullæ se dediderant. Eos in villam publicam ingredi iussos, quasi inter suos milites descripturus, eodem tempore quo senatum in eadem Bellonæ convocari jusserat, crudelissimè trucidavit: multique simul pagani qui forte eodem venerant, etiam Sullanarum partium homines, perierunt. Corpora in Tiberim projecta sunt. Dum tanta multitudo ceditur, ipse verba in senatu faciebat: patribusque ad horribilem tumultum ac clamorem, tot quem millia indignè moritura edebant, exterritis; eodem quo dicere cæperat vultu vocisque tenore; Hoc agite, inquit, Patres Conscripti, pauci seditiosi jussu meo puniuntur. Quâ tantæ acerbitatîs, voce vix quidquam ab ullo homine dictum puto truculentius,*

*Frensch. Supp. lib. lxxxviii. c. 17, 18.*

It is true, said *Crito*, that some of the laws which were made by *Sylla*, when possessed of that supreme magistrature, were wise and salutary to the state. Several cruel usurpers and tyrants, even our own *Richard* the Third, may make the same boast. But *Sylla*'s conduct in other respects was very oppressive, and very mean. How mean was his private life at that time? It was passed in the society of the lowest, worst of men. How tyrannic was his public behaviour? *Ne nesciatis, Quirites.—Monitos volo victos, ne tertium insanientes opus incendio habeant.* A speech suitable only to the tutor of a *Cataline*.

*SYLLA*, in the third year of his dictatorship resigned that office. *An ipsum jam pigebat rapta potestatis? Et quum recordatio delictorum s.ræ penitentiae morsibus consciam mentem cruentaret, quantas misérias quàm vile ob præmium perferret, experientia monstrante persenserat? Nam priusquam cupitis potiretur, in his omnem inesse Et solidam animi felicitatem crediderat. Adeptus deinde, quum se pejus etiam excruciaci deprehenderet, odisse atque fastidire capit, quod antea per tot bella civilia flagrantissimè appetiverat. Hæc exempla docere mortalitatem poterunt, ut priusquam sese præcipitent unde regredi non liceat, consilio regant affectus, iisque rebus querendis*

III. Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 99

*rendis adhibeant quas ubi consecuti fuerint, nullo deinceps pudore pœnitentiæ torqueantur\*.*

THESE observations of *Frensbemius* are certainly in great part very true, and very important. But as far as relates to *Sylla*, I am in some doubt whether or no he ever intended to continue his dictatorship longer, than till he had established the aristocratic party in the state, and had fully glutted his own vengeance. His ruling passion seems indeed to have been not ambition, but that far more infernal temper, revenge.

HE died soon afterwards.—*Crito*, in saying these words, laid aside his papers, and entered into a conversation as serious, as if the company had been then sitting round the bed of *Sylla*, just after he had expired.



AFTER some considerable time passed in meditation † on this solemn subject, the company rose,  
H 2 and

\* *Frensb.* Supp. lib. lxxxix. c. 37. 38.

† *Forbear to judge: for we are sinners all:  
Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close:  
And let us all to meditation.*

*Shakespear, Henry VI.*

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and retired to their several apartments, in order to dress before dinner. In relation to the manner in which they passed the remainder of the day, it may be sufficient to take notice only, that soon after dinner they parted.

*CRITO* shut himself up among his books and papers, in order to prepare for to-morrow's lecture.

THE intended subject of to-morrow's lecture was the character of that great *Roman*, who with very extraordinary abilities supported himself, and his proscribed friends in *Spain*, against all the power of *Sylla's* party, during the dictatorship, and for above five years after the death of that tyrannic usurper.

Q. *Sertorius*: He was an hero whom adversity never sunk, prosperity never corrupted. He was illustrious, not only for his conduct, activity, and courage; but for his generosity also. Though an enemy of the bloody *Sylla*, yet had he opposed the return of *Marius* to *Rome*. He was remarkable for his strong love of his country, and for his earnest desire of peace.

FROM his life written by *Plutarch*, *Crito* had collected several extracts, which he thought would



be peculiarly agreeable to his good pupil. The first of these extracts described the filial tenderness which *Sertorius* bore to his aged mother.

Λέγεται ὅτι ἡλιστα τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμῶν διὰ τὴν μητέρα, τραφεὶς ὀφθῶν ὑπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸ συμπᾶν ἀναχέμενός ἐκεῖν, &c. The second contained an account of his intended retreat from the horrid scene of civil war to the *Fortunate* isles: a project from which *Horace* possibly might have taken the hint of his sixteenth epode: a project very feasible for so small a number of persons as would probably accompany *Sertorius* in such an expedition: tho' very romantic, when applied to so large a multitude as mentioned by the lyric poet.

GREAT perhaps, might have been the event of that expedition: perhaps *Sertorius* might have pushed on the expedition so far, as to make that great discovery, which prince *Madoc* is supposed to have done, and *Columbus* certainly did several centuries afterwards.

IN compiling a paper from these materials, *Crito* was very agreeably engaged; when he was at once suddenly damped by the recollection of the *Oscan* children\*, and the imposture of the stag. Reflecting on these most unworthy parts of *Sertorius's*

H 3

history,

\* Mr. Hooke, in the third volume of his *Roman History*, p. 192, expresses much doubt of the truth of that story.

history, *Crito* threw aside the paper of his character, and determined to pass over his name in silence ; a name, which (if not sullied by those unhappy circumstances) would have been certainly one of the very brightest in the catalogue of *Roman* worthies.

WHILE *Crito* was thus employed, the eldest of the young gentlemen also was giving several hours of the afternoon to study. His industry was not as usual exercised in the cultivation of some branch of parliamentary science, it was totally confined to the *Roman* history.

78. DURING the first hour, the object of his study was the civil war of *Lepidus* ; (*fax illius motus*, says *Florus*, a *Syllæ rogo exarsit*) a war, which, during its short continuance, threatened *destruction* to this city. Yesterday evening, while at *Ponte Molle*, he had recollected the *happy* victory which *Pompey* had *there* gained over the army of *Lepidus*.

HE then proceeded to the history of *Spartacus*, whose insurrection produced a kind of *civil* war \*,  
almost

\* This great insurrection was begun by about seventy gladiators : it was augmented by numbers of persons in the same condition of life, and by multitudes of *Gallie* and *German* slaves. But the *bulk* of the *vast* armies which followed the standards of *Spartacus*, (that able general, *cui nihil ad eximii imperatoris*

III. Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 103

almost as destructive to the inhabitants of *Italy*, as either the *Social* or the *Marian*.

IF (thought he to himself) some able political writer was to take a general view of the history of *Italy*, during the twenty years which intervened between the beginning of the *Social* war, and the conclusion of that of *Spartacus*; might he not with justice consider those annals as the most dreadful examples of the misery and havock which mankind has ever suffered from civil distractions? The thirty years civil war in *Germany*\*, (if the wars of that country may be called by that name) seems not to have been half so bloody.

71.

THE two following hours he employed in turning over *Appian's Mithridatic* history: a book, which he had formerly read with due care. The fifty or sixty first pages of that history he now

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surveyed

*imperatoris tuendum nomen deerat, præter humilitatem fortis*) seems most probably to have consisted of the inhabitants of *Italy*. Such seems to have been the army of seventy thousand men which he commanded in *Campania*; and that of one hundred and twenty thousand with which he once dared to march towards *Rome*. On this account the war of *Spartacus* may perhaps not be improperly considered as a kind of civil war. Ἡδὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης Ἰταλίαν Σπάρτακῳ μονομαχῶν συστάσαν τῇ Ρωμαίῳ.

*Appian's Mithridatic war*, edit. *Hen. Steph.* p. 240.

\* See the history of the wars and negotiations which preceded the treaty of *Westphalia*, compiled by *Pere Bougeant* from the memoirs of *Compte d'Arvaux*.

surveyed in a very cursory manner: but, as he drew near the conclusion, his attention became gradually more engaged. With pleasure he regularly perused most part of *Lucullus's* and the whole of *Pompey's* campaigns in the *East*, whether against that mighty king, or against other states.

65.

Ἐνι τῷδε πολέμῳ τὰτε λῆς ἦν καὶ θῆρας, καὶ βασιλεὺς  
καθελών μεγίστου, καὶ συνεχέσθεις εἰς μάχας ἀνεὺ τοῦ Ποντικῆς  
πολέμου Κόλχοις τε καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ Ἰβηροῖς καὶ Ἀρμενίοις  
καὶ Μηδοῖς καὶ Ἀραβῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐθνεσίν  
ἐποῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠρίσατο Ῥωμαίοις μέχρις Αἰγύπτου.

IT now drawing near evening he rose from his studies, and took a walk towards that place in the *Campo Marzo*, where *Pompey* erected, in gratitude for these victories, his temple to *Minerva*. The church, which now stands on that spot, is called *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*.

FROM thence he continued his walk to the *Campo del Fiore*, where some remains of *Pompey's* theatre are still existing, though covered by the modern palace of the prince *Pio*.

IN returning to his lodgings from this walk, he fell into deep thought on the *civic* character of *Pompey*, *Lucullus*, *Craſsus*, and *Julius Caesar* \*.

The

\* At the time of *Pompey's* triumph, *Julius Caesar* was about thirty-eight years of age.



#### Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 105

The senatorial profession of this *English* gentleman unhappily made it almost necessary for him in his historical studies to give much time to the consideration of *such* characters. In order to prepare himself for what he was to see in Parliament, he was forced to give diligent attention (though not approbation) to the conduct of those men; whose abilities were great, and actions sometimes good, but their intentions in general not upright\*.

SUCH was not the case of *Crito's* blessed pupil. His most happy disposition of mind had inclined him to a state of life, which is far removed from the *great* objects of the turbulent passions, and from that variety of negotiations and hurry of distractions, under which the most virtuous often find it difficult not to lose sight of their God. His studies also flowed in a far more pleasant channel, in a much smoother and purer stream. He always rose from his studies with a better idea of mankind, and of the human nature: for his literary amusement was not history in general, but an exquisitely select biography. The daily perusal and reperusal of the lives of some few, the very best men who ever existed, this was his principal *amusement*: pious reading, meditation, and prayer, was his *business* and *delight*. Happy, happy youth! In some degree might  
it

\* See introduction to the first book, p. xxvii.

it not be said, *Ejus cor & cogitatio non cum popularibus & communibus hominum viis ; sed cum angelis in cælo, aut cum perfectis viris in terrâ ?*

If at any time other objects offered themselves to his consideration, he gave them comparatively but a slight attention. Accordingly this afternoon he passed indeed half an hour in turning over some leaves of *Frensbemius*, but diligently employed all the rest of the time in studies more suitable to his own happy genius. In the evening he walked to the *Capitol*: he turned aside there to view for some moments the fragments of the colossus of *Apollo*, which *M. Lucullus* brought from *Apollonia* to *Rome*: but he soon left them, and crossed over the court to the *Musæum*. On ascending the stairs he turned into the room on the right, where the brazen vase of *Mithridates* is preserved, and from thence went on to the *PHILOSOPHIC* chamber.

THE young nobleman, who had come to table at dinner time very richly dressed, passed the afternoon and evening in making visits to some of the most distinguished persons in *Rome*. Indeed throughout this whole tour it was remarkable, that though he never slighted his countrymen whom he accidentally met abroad, yet in general he chiefly kept company with the *Italians* when in *Italy*, as with the *French* while

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Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 107

in *France*. Among these also he was very careful with whom he made acquaintance. He lived wherever he came with the great and eminent, with men honoured and revered in their several countries, not so much for their birth and wealth, as for their virtue and knowledge.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

## FIFTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SEVERAL noble villas are situate within the walls of *Rome*. Among these the villa *Ludovisi* bears a *principal* rank, in regard both of its greatness and beauty.

ITS buildings are enriched with some capital paintings and sculptures, the labours of *Guercino* and *Bernini*. Its gardens are about a mile in circuit, and contain many pleasant walks, some of which are filled with a great number of *antique* statues.

IN one of these walks the *English* company met this morning. After half an hour passed in admiring the beauties of the place, *Crito's* pupil observed that several of these antique statues were found in digging on the spot. How glad, added he, would the proprietors of some *English* country-seats be, if in digging their ground for new plantations, or moving the soil for other purposes, they had any chance of finding such plenty of antique sculptures; such elegant ornaments for the embellishment of their woods and lawns?



Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 109

IT is no wonder, said the young nobleman, that such treasures of *virtù* should be found on this spot: as some part of these gardens antiently made a part of the famous *horti Sallustiani*. You remember in what manner our learned antiquarian described the great extent of those *Sallustian* gardens, and the magnificent structures with which they were adorned.

THE conversation now wandered to the character of *Sallust*. The eldest of the young gentlemen made several observations on that subject. He afterwards proceeded to that *far more worthy* topic, the consideration of *Sallust's* writings; particularly his history of the *Catilinarian* conspiracy.

How noble an idea, said he, *here* presents itself to our imagination? I mean the idea of that grand debate in the *Roman* senate, the description of which was perhaps composed by *Sallust* in this walk. On that important day, three persons of the highest names in the *Roman* history eminently distinguished themselves in the house. How august must have been the appearance of that Parliament, in which *Cicero* presided, while the debate was supported on one side by *Julius Cæsar*, on the other by *Cato*?

IF I am not mistaken, *Cato* was then a *very young member* \*. How pleasing, how encouraging is *this last* circumstance to persons who may be entering the *British* senate at the same early time of life?

In which of those celebrated characters, replied *Crito* with a benevolent smile, would you dear sir, if you had lived at that time, have chosen to have appeared? In respect of eloquence, notwithstanding the high abilities both of *Cato* and *Cæsar*, yet certainly you would on the whole have given the preference to *Tully*. As to patriotism, I need not ask you on whom you would have fixed your choice: your ardent looks and language sufficiently declare in favour of young *Cato*.

IN conversing thus the company arrived at the further end of a winding mossy walk, where they found a most undisturbed recess, thickly shaded with ilex and pine.

IN

\* *Hic tribunus plebis designatus, adhuc admodum adolescens, pæne inter ultimos interrogatus sententiam tantâ vi animi atque ingenii invehit in conjurationem; sic impendentia publici statûs pericula exposuit; ita consulis virtutem amplificavit, ut universus senatus in ejus sententiam transfret, majorque pars ordinis ejus Catonem prosequerentur domum.*

*Velleius Paterculus.*

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 111

IN this retired spot stands an antique senatorial statue. Leaning on its basis, the eldest of the young gentlemen took out a pocket *Sallust*, and read to his friends (not without entering into the warmth and spirit of the orator himself) the speech of *Cato* in that great debate.

How could I wish, added he in the conclusion, that I had brought with me hither to-day a pocket volume of *Tully's* works, particularly *Orationes illas Catilinaras tam luculentas tamque utiles reipublicæ*? We should have had the greatest pleasure in comparing those orations with this of *Cato*, particularly as our kind tutor would have assisted us with his remarks on them.

FAR be it from me, replied *Crito*, to pretend to judge of the eloquence or other political talents of those illustrious *Roman* senators. It is much more suitable to my profession, as well as to the design of our present course of studies, to endeavour to learn what was good in their moral characters.

I WISH you would give me leave to ask your opinion this morning in relation to the moral character of *Cato*. If you please to take your seats in this pleasant and shady spot, I will desire the liberty to trouble you for a quarter of an hour with some extracts of his life. These extracts are chiefly

chiefly made from *Plutarch*, but some are taken from *Sallust*. Those last will be particularly agreeable to you *here*; as perhaps, according to your observation, some part of this garden may be really the place in which *Sallust* composed some part of his history.

## C A T O.

## PART I.

THERE is not, in the whole *Roman* history, any virtuous character, which has been so highly celebrated either by orators and poets, or by philosophers and historians, as that of *Cato*. *Finxit illum ipsa natura ad bonestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam, magnitudinem animi, justitiam, ad omnes denique virtutes magnum hominem & excelsum.* This most noble natural disposition he greatly strengthened and improved, by settling his aim always on *one* most noble object: for the single object of all the labours of his life, was to sustain himself always in what appeared to him the most exalted degree of virtue.

HE condescended not to struggle for the low prizes, for which *Lucullus* or *Crassus*, *Cæsar* or *Pompey* were then contending; in that age of general luxury, avarice, and ambition, *non luxuriâ certabat*



*certabat cum luxurioso, non divitiis cum divite, non factionibus cum factioso: his elevated design was to excel in that which is most excellent; to copy, and if possible surpass the best examples. Amore sapientiæ, & moralis præcipue philosophiæ certabat cum sapientibus; virtute certabat cum strenuis, pudore cum modestis, abstinentiâ cum innocentibus. Nor is Cato said in this noble emulation to have thirsted for the praise of men. Quanquam enim facta ejus erant bona, divina, egregia, totiusque vitæ ejus maximus fuit splendor & gravitas, tamen esse quàm videri bonus malebat: itaque quo minus gloriam appetebat, eò magis illam assequebatur.*

Such is the character of *Cato*, according to *Salust* and several ancient writers. On an impartial survey of his history, you will find many of these particulars to be very true: but on the whole, you will have reason to abate somewhat of the panegyric.

PERHAPS there never was a man (continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the eldest of the young gentlemen) to whom his country was more obliged for kind and noble intentions, and willing labours in her service. We shall be strongly inclined to this opinion, if we examine his conduct in many public characters, which at different times he sustained.

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SORRY ought I to be, that I am obliged to observe, that in one unhappy part of his life he carried his regard to his country much too far. Commanded by his country (if the assemblies of the people under the influences of a *Clodious* deserve *that* name) to take the management of an unjust war against the king of *Cyprus*, *Cato* obeyed. He obeyed unwillingly, *it is said by some writers*\*, in order to prevent seditions and farther confusions at home.

IN the execution of this office he restored peace and tranquillity at *Byzantium*. He endeavoured to soften the fate of that unhappy prince against whom he acted. With the greatest fidelity he delivered into the public treasury all the spoils of the war, and all the treasures and furniture of the royal palace of *Cyprus*: of these he accepted nothing for himself, except a statue of *Zeno*, which he brought to *Rome*.

HE refused all honours from his country, and all rewards. As his only recompence, he desired that he might be permitted to give liberty to some of the unhappy captives.

THESE

\* Ανακραγόντων δὲ τῶν Κατωνῶν ὡς ἐνεδρα το πρᾶγμα, καὶ προσηλακισμένων, οὐ χάρις εἰν, ὑπερηφανῶς ὁ Κλοδιὸς καὶ ὀλιγωρῶς, Οὐκ ἐπει, εἰ μὴ χάριν ἔχεις, ἀνιώμεθα πλεῖστη. Καὶ προελθὼν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἘΚΥΡΩΣΕΝ ΝΟΜΩ τὴν ἐκπιμψιν τῶν Κατωνῶν.

THESE actions certainly are marks of a good mind, yet they are not sufficient to justify him for having engaged in this unjust war. *Ptolemy* might deserve to be punished for his vices; yet surely *Cato* must have been greatly deceived in thinking that *Rome* had any authority to dethrone that king.

BUT let us turn our eyes from this *probably indefensible* part of his history: in most of its other parts we shall find his love to his country to deserve very high commendations.

THIS paper, which I now take in my hand, contains some imperfect *extracts from Plutarch*, relative to *Cato's* conduct in four or five different public stations. Permit me to read it to you; and to add my strong wishes, that you could find time to-night, before you sleep, to peruse *Cato's* life, as written by that good man.

I. PART of *Cato's* life was military. He had at several times the command of considerable bodies of forces. In that station he is said to have behaved very nobly. Highly esteemed indeed he was by all men, but he was particularly loved and almost adored by his soldiers; for he kept up his authority, but added to it persuasion and instruction. He was continually bestowing on them either rewards or punishments, according to their

deserts. Whatever he commanded to be done by others, he himself took part in performing it. In diet and labour he made himself equal to the most common soldier; in love of discipline, in courage and conduct, he was equal, if not superior to most of the generals of *Rome*.

BUT, what was much more important, he reformed the avarice and cruelty of the *Roman* army, which was very infamous at that time for their oppressions, both public and private, on the country. *Cato* looked on it as a small matter singly to shew *himself* virtuous. He endeavoured to make all *his* soldiers like himself. In a word, he rendered *his* forces so well disciplined, that it was hard to say whether they were more valiant or just. Under his guidance, they were formidable to their enemies, but peaceable and courteous to all others: they were fearful to do wrong, brave and forward to act nobly.

IN relation to this conduct of *Cato* towards the soldiers, as well as that of *Scævola* towards the publicans, I find on my papers a reference to the third chapter of *St. Luke*, verse 12, 13, 14. But let us proceed.

2. *As tribune and as prætor, Cato* acted with great spirit, the spirit not of turbulent faction, but of true patriotism, of eager contention in the cause



cause of liberty. Conscious of his own innocence and virtue, he was continually stemming and resisting the general luxury and corruption of the times. With the greatest constancy and fortitude he was intrepid in resisting all factions: unmoved by the tumults and violence of the people, and by the threats and hatred of the great, whether separated in their interests, or combined together against him. He was invincible by all temptations which could be proposed; and far superior to all the affronts and ridicule which could be cast on him by those who at the same time really most envied his glory. (In public indeed, as well as in private life, you will always, dear sir, find the knaves endeavouring to represent the honest in a ridiculous light.)

3. ON the *tribunal of Justice*, Cato was (as you well know) above all influence of corruption or fear. He was respected by all: he was dreaded by the guilty: yet his severity to them was *in reality* owing merely to his compassion to the public.

HE supported *the majesty of the law* above the power of *Pompey*, or the interest of any other great men: in all these things he shewed the most firm attachment to justice and truth.

How could such a man, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, miss obtaining the highest honours in the state? How much was it to be wished, for the sake of his country, that he had succeeded in his election for the consulship? In that high office he might perhaps have prevented the civil war which broke out, if I am not mistaken, in the following year.

HIS loss of that election, replied *Crito*, seems indeed to have been a very great misfortune to the public. But it was no personal affliction to himself: for he bore the loss with so much magnanimity, as to turn that event to his still greater glory. The splendor of virtue is, as his example shewed, independant of the suffrages of the people. It is far superior to all honours; and, on the other hand, no popular ignorance or injustice can tarnish its lustre. *Horace* perhaps alluded to this part of *Cato's* history.

*Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ  
Intamenatis fulget honoribus  
Nec sumit aut ponit secures  
Arbitrio popularis auræ.*

But let us proceed to the consideration of *Cato's* merits in some other public stations in which he was really placed,

4. IN the office of *quæstor*, or *manager of the public treasury*, *Cato* exerted the greatest diligence, abilities, and fidelity: he reduced the national accounts from a state of confusion into good order: he took care that the public should, during his administration of the exchequer, neither do nor suffer wrong: he punctually exacted whatever was due to the treasury (in particular he forced several of *Sylla's* blood-hounds to refund the spoils of their rapine and cruelty) and on the other hand, he with great readiness paid all persons who had just demands on government, On the whole, he left the treasury in a flourishing condition, and made it demonstrably appear, how the state may be made rich, without oppressing the people.

5. I WISH, dear sir, that I was able to describe, in a proper stile, the conduct of *Cato* in his greatest public station, *in his senatorial office*.

IN the *Roman* senate, *Cato* was much admired for his *eloquence*; he was still more respected for *those other talents*, without which all strength of genius, all sweetness and charms of language, are very insufficient qualifications for a senatorial life; I mean, *industry*, and *integrity*.

FROM the first day on which he took his seat in the house, he applied himself to *business* with the most indefatigable diligence. He was continually

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nually employed, either in informing himself on some matter of moment, or in doing his duty by communicating his lights to others.

*Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo.*

BUT his senatorial *integrity* chiefly merits your attention. It gained him general veneration while alive; it has, during all succeeding centuries, made his name the symbol of patriotic virtue.

ON a subject so well known, I need to speak but little. Suffer me only to observe, that *Cato* was in the senate uniformly the same honest man as he was when seated on the judges's bench, or when employed in any branch of the business of public or private life.



*CRITO* here paused, some conversation accidentally rising relative to the glorious character of integrity, which the judges of *England* have acquired in a degree far superior to the judges of *France*, or to the judges of several other countries.

It was not long however before the young nobleman desired *Crito* to continue his lecture.

I FIND



I FIND in my memorandum-papers, said *Crito*, two instances of *Cato's senatorial* conduct particularly marked down: one to be considered as an example of his love to his country, the other as an instance of his justice to the rest of mankind.

1. HE very greatly assisted *Cicero* in saving *Rome* from that destruction with which the *Catalinarian* conspiracy threatened it. But it is needless for me to trouble you with any reflections on this particular, as it has been the subject of your conversation this morning.

2. THE second particular is related by *Plutarch* as follows.

*JULIUS CÆSAR* attacked the *Germans*, who at that time were in peace with the *Romans*, and put three hundred thousand of them to the sword. His party made a motion in the senate, that a public thanksgiving should be proclaimed on the occasion. But *Cato*, on the contrary, earnestly argued, that *Cæsar* should be given up by the *Roman* government to the vengeance of those nations, whom (probably without any such command from his country) he had invaded. "By such a sacrifice, said he, let us endeavour to expiate the injustice of this war. It is highly proper however, that the motion for the thanksgiving should be approved, as we have great reason

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"reason to thank the gods: they have as yet  
 "spared the commonwealth; nor taken ven-  
 "geance on our armies for the cruelty and wick-  
 "edness of our general."

NOBLE was this sentiment; but it would have  
 been far more noble, if *Cato* himself had been so  
 happy as never to have seen the shores of *Cyprus*.

IF I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the  
 young gentlemen, a similar sentiment is expressed  
 by *Livy*, in one of the speeches of *Paulus Æmilius*\*.  
 But pray proceed.



WE have been superficially considering, replied  
*Crito*, the conduct of this celebrated patriot during  
 the time that the *Roman* republic stood. For dur-  
 ing some time the commonwealth supported it-  
 self, though shook to its lowest roots by the con-  
 tinual storms of faction and anarchy;

*illa usque minatur,*

*Et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat.*

49. BUT soon after the conclusion of *Cæsar's Gallic*  
 and *German* campaigns, that fatal civil war broke  
 out,

\* *Livy*, book xxxviii. c. 45, 46.

out, which *Cato* had long foretold, and laboured to prevent.

THE conduct of *Cato* in the civil war, seems in several respects very similar to that amiable behaviour of lord *Falkland*, which you, dear sir, have often admired in the fourth and seventh books of *Clarendon's* history.

*CATO*, like lord *Falkland*, was always fighting and labouring for peace. Αἰ μὲν εἶχετο πρὸς γυναικας, ἐλπίζων διαλυσεῖς.

WHEREVER *Cato* had the command, he was very merciful to the inhabitants of the country which was the seat of war.

By *his* persuasion it was agreed, at a council held in *Pompey's* camp, that during the course of the campaign, no city should be sacked, nor any *Roman* killed but in the heat of battle.

IN the progress of the war, *Cato* bore patiently much fatigue and distress. In the few engagements at which he was present, he shewed much personal courage, and animated his friends with a considerable degree of the same spirit; yet never did he rejoice for any victory.

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IMMEDIATELY after the obtaining any success, *Cato* visited with sorrow the field of battle; he there bewailed that cursed ambition which was the destruction of so many of his countrymen: he shed tears on the corpses even of *Cæsar's* soldiers.

INDEED, from the day on which this civil war broke out, to the day of his death, *Cato's* countenance was always filled with a fixt melancholy, a perpetual sadness, unchanged by any success, which at any time attended his own party.

ON the other hand, in all the heavy misfortunes, and repeated defeats, which at last totally sunk it, he was himself unmoved; but condescending to those of his friends, who were willing to make their peace with the conqueror. He was anxious and indefatigable to his last breath, in doing every thing in his power that could be beneficial to them.

*Can any thing be thought of for their service,  
While I yet live, let me not live in vain.*



SCARCE had *Crito* repeated these lines, when his pupil's servant came to acquaint him, that at the garden-gate there was a person who was desirous



firous of speaking to him, if he was at leisure. On this notice *Crito* immediately rose from his seat, and went with the servant to the gate. The young gentlemen rose also from their mossy seats, and employed a quarter of an hour in walking about the garden.

DURING this walk, *Crito's* pupil observed that the four first acts of the tragedy of *Cato* were composed by Mr. *Addison* during his residence at *Rome*. Is it not probable, said he, that *Addison* then frequently visited these *Sallustian* gardens, and composed here some of the most shining passages?

*But oh! my friends, your safety fills my heart  
With anxious thoughts: a thousand secret terrors  
Rise in my soul: how shall I save my friends?  
'Tis now, O Caesar, I begin to fear thee.*

HAD *Cato*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, any just reason to fear *Caesar* on this account? *Caesar* was indeed a man of blood, and had in his former wars destroyed some millions of his fellow-creatures,; but yet in general his behaviour to his enemies in this contest with *Pompey* had been full of clemency..

THIS learned young gentleman began now to expatiate on *Caesar's* mercy, contrasting it with the cruelty

cruelty of *Sylla* in the foregoing civil war. He proceeded then to consider *Cæsar's* courage, activity, and astonishing abilities of mind. He spoke much of several of his great exploits: he concluded however his reflections on the life of this most famous man, by repeating some of *Addison's* verses.

*'Tis an impious greatness;  
And mixt with too much horror to be envied\*.*

DURING this part of the conversation the company arrived at the garden gate. They found *Crito* there with the *Irish* painter, who had been lately relieved by the young nobleman's generosity. This was the first day of his venturing abroad after his late illness: he was still very weak, and far from well, yet he had been at his noble patron's lodgings already this morning; and hearing that he was gone to the *Ludovisi* gardens, had followed him thither, being very desirous of taking the earliest opportunity to express his gratitude.

IT is needless to add, that on this occasion the young nobleman behaved with all possible politeness

\* A noble modern writer, the author of the *Dialogues of the Dead*, sums up *Cæsar's* character in the following manner:

“*Cæsar's* courage and talents were equal to the object to which his ambition aspired, the dominion of the world; and he exercised a sovereignty unjustly acquired with a magnanimous clemency. But it would have been better for his country, and for mankind, if he had never existed.”

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ness and humanity. After some time they separated, the painter returned to his lodgings, and the *English* company proceeded to the adjoining circus of *Sallust*.

So extensive were the gardens of *Sallust*, as to contain, besides many other buildings, a large circus also. Of this circus there are to this day some considerable remains\*. On its southern side is to be seen an antique octangular temple, rendered at present a kind of grotto by the ruins of other structures, which have fallen on it, and almost buried it. *Sallust*, probably in compliment to his patron *Julius Cæsar*, consecrated this temple to *Venus*.

THIS fabric, said the young nobleman while entering it, seems to have been a kind of monument erected by *Sallust* in honour of *Cæsar*'s exploits. The statue of *Venus*, which was placed in this temple, was adorned, if I am not mistaken, with a corslet of *British* pearls. Those pearls came, I suppose, from *Sandwich*. About two or three years ago I was on a visit at a gentleman's house in that neighbourhood. We rode one morning, I remember, to the old *Roman* walls at *Rutupiæ*: another morning we rode towards *Deal* and *Dover*, frequently recollecting in the way the description of that coast in *Cæsar*'s Commentaries.

I HAVE

\* See *Abate Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol i. p. 86, 87.

I HAVE also had the pleasure, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, of taking the same ride. The summer before last I made the tour of the coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*. My principal desire was to see the place where *Julius Cæsar* had trod. (I was not then satiated with *Roman* antiquities) I had also some curiosity to visit the shore in *Kent* where the *Saxon Hengist*; in *Sussex* where the *Norman* conqueror landed. Ought not our pride to be humbled, when we reflect how often in ancient times our island has been invaded and subdued.

EACH of these conquests, replied *Crito*, though they might justly appear very heavy calamities in the times when they happened, yet in their long consequences have produced very considerable benefit to our island.

To the *Roman* conquest *Britain* owes perhaps its first civilization, certainly its first conversion to Christianity.

To the *Saxon* conquest we are indebted for that system of government which is to this day the basis of *English* liberty. Many good effects of *Saxon* piety also are still great blessings to us.

To the *Norman* conquest we owe not perhaps so much respect. Yet we may be certain, that  
 Providence



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Providence intended some great good by that great event.

YOU were mentioning your journey to *Suffex*; give me leave to recollect that many years ago, when I was a very young man, I was also in that county. From *Brightelmstone* I made with some friends a short voyage to *Dieppe*. During that voyage we often thought of the hostile fleets, *Roman, Saxon, and Norman*, which in various ages have crossed, or rather filled the *British* channel. The *Portus Iccius* indeed was then at a considerable distance from us, but the port of *St. Valery en Somme*, from whence *William* the Conqueror set sail, with eight hundred vessels \*, lay but some few leagues to the northward of our track. We landed at *Dieppe*, and during the few days that we passed there, had great pleasure in reading the latter part of Sir *William Temple's* introduction to the history of *England*: we had fortunately brought that book with us from *Brightelmstone*.

DID you go up any higher into *Normandy*? said *Crito's* pupil. I have heard it is a very fine country, and very like to *England*.

WE went up no farther than *Rouen*, replied *Crito*. The country seemed to us to resemble the

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\* The fleet of *Julius Cæsar*, and the fleet of *William* the Conqueror, each consisted of above eight hundred sail.

open parts of *Northamptonshire*: it has however greatly the advantage of that country, by being situate at least four degrees more to the south. It abounds with apple-trees, planted, not in orchards, as in our cyder counties, but in straight rows along the roads, or scattered up and down in the corn fields. You would have great pleasure in making a short tour through that province of *France*, especially as in various parts of it you would probably see many marks still remaining of its connection with *England* in former ages.

SOME similar observations occurred to me, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, in the first part of our present long tour: I mean, while we were in those parts of *Germany* from which our *Saxon* ancestors came.—But surely, dear sir, you have at present an opportunity of favouring us with some very noble reflections. These gloomy and solitary *Roman* ruins cannot fail of suggesting to you a train of important sentiments; especially if you are of our noble young friend's opinion, that this edifice was built partly at least on occasion of the first connection of *Britain* to the *Roman* empire.

I AM by no means capable, replied *Crito*, of supporting the dignity of that topic. Besides it is now late in the morning, if you please we will return to our lodgings. You may there meditate  
at

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at leisure on all the various changes which have happened to our country. But why do I say *happened*? I remember a noble reflection of *Bosfuet* towards the conclusion of his *Universal History*. *Ne parlons plus ni de hazard ni de fortune : on parlons en seulement comme d'un nom, dont nous couvrons notre ignorance. C'est DIEU, qui prepare les effets dans les causes les plus éloignées : Et qui frappe ces grands coups, dont le contrecoup porte si loin.*



THE company now walked to their lodgings. During that walk, and during dinner-time also, the conversation chiefly dwelt on the state of *Britain* in *Cæsar's* time. It afterwards returned to *Cato's* character; the young nobleman politely reviving that topic in compliment to *Crito*.

I COULD wish, said he, that the statue of *Zeno*, which (as you informed us this morning) *Cato* brought hither from *Cyprus*, was still preserved in some of the *Roman* musæums. In that case, I should have been very glad of the pleasure of attending you on a visit to it this afternoon.

THERE is in the *Capitoline* musæum, replied *Crito's* pupil, a noble statue of that philosopher.

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You *must* remember it; it is the most remarkable piece of sculpture in the *stanza dei filosofi*. It was found in the ruins of the villa of *Antoninus Pius*.

*Possibly*, said the young nobleman, it may be the identical statue; at least we may fancy it so, and visit it with that idea. If you please we may walk thither in the evening, as soon as we have had our tea. I should be very glad to take a walk to that part of the town, as I want to call at the print-shop at the upper end of the *Corso*.

\*     \*     \*

THE bell of the *Capitol* clock struck three and twenty, when this *English* company arrived there: they went up stairs into the musæum, and passing through several of its apartments, proceeded to the *stanza dei filosofi*, where they sat down, being much heated by their long-walk.

*CRITO*'s pupil was the first who recovered his spirits after this fatigue.

THERE is not, said he, with peculiar earnestness, any part of the *Capitoline* musæum more pleasing or more instructive than this apartment; this *philosophic chamber*, as it is *justly* called from its being filled



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filled with two such noble ranges of near an hundred antique busts, the busts of most of the learned men of *Greece*, particularly the philosophers of *Athens*.

I CAME hither alone yesterday afternoon, and perused in this chamber part of *Milton's Paradise Regained*. I then considered myself as present not only

*On the Tarpeian rock, the citadel  
Of great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,  
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enricht  
Of nations.*

But what is a far more pleasing idea,

Ω Χαίρε' Αθηνων, Χαίρε φιλατατη πολις.

*Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts,  
Of eloquence, and sage philosophy,  
From heav'n descended to the low-rooft house  
Of Socrates! —*

Saying this, he approached the bust of *Socrates*, which is placed near that of *Homer*, fronting the entrance.——How deservedly (continued he, addressing himself to his noble young friend) may the busts of these two great men claim their station in all such musæums as this, one at the head

of all the philosophers, the other at the head of all the tragic and lyric poets of Greece? These two indeed *gave breath to all the rest*. How fortunate is the education of those young men, who in poetry chiefly study the one, in philosophy the other of these most exalted geniuses?

THINKING of this, I was highly pleased just now, when, in passing through the first apartment of this musæum, you stopt to admire the elegant design of that marble sepulchre found in the villa of *Alexander Severus*: at one end of which is *Homer* receiving his book from the genius of poetry; at the other, *Socrates* attending to the instructions of a veiled figure, which leans on a column, and represents moral philosophy; the whole front of the monument being filled with the statues of the nine *Muses*, all of the finest sculpture.

WHILE you were so happy here yesterday in the company of *Milton*, said *Crito*, I was not less so at home in that of *Xenophon*. You left your *Xenophon* on your table, open at the conclusion of one of his *Socratic* discourses. I could not help taking it up, and reading with great pleasure the last sentence, which breathes such grateful affection to the memory of his beloved master, exceeded only by a still greater love and thirst of virtue. Εγω μὲν δὲ

κατανοῶν τὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν, καὶ τὴν γενναϊότητα,  
οὐτε μὴ μνησθῆναι δύναμαι αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μνησθῆναι μὴ ἔκ

ἐπαινεῖν.

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ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ. ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΦΙΕΜΙΣΩΝ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΩΤΕΡΩ ΤΙΝΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΓΕΥΕΤΟ, ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΕΓΩ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΑ ΑΞΙΟΜΑΚΑ- ΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΟΝ νομίζω. Nor could I help reflect- ing then, (it ought not to have been without due gratitude) that we are all blessed with *that high happiness*, the idea of which *Xenophon* regarded with such admiration, and with a desire which seems to have something of divine inspiration. We have all of us an instructor and leader in the path of virtue *far superior to Socrates*. Let us then make the best use of all these lights so graciously bestowed on us: in the study of ethical institution from the moralists of *Greece*, let us principally confine our- selves to the study of the doctrines of the *benevolent and humble Socrates*: in a far superior study, let us apply ourselves principally to learning and im- bibing the character and temper of its original, its most *beneficent*, and most *humble*, though most DIVINE founder. Happy, truly happy, are those whose education is founded *on these two bases*.

BUT at present let us have the pleasure of fol- lowing you round this room, and of making with you a short visit to these several philosophers, who were almost all of them men of great genius, though none of them equal to *Socrates*.

SAYING this, and passing by *Epicurus*, he stopt a considerable time in silence before the busts of

*Plato* and *Aristotle*. He then proceeded to the statue of *Zeno*.

AFTER hearing the observations of his young friends relative to the sculpture of this statue, he drew a chair near to its pedestal, and sitting down desired leave to finish in that place those papers relative to *Cato's* character, which he had begun to read to them this morning in the *Ludovisi* gardens.

## C A T O.

### P A R T II.

THE character of *Cato* is so famous, that in forming a catalogue of *Roman* worthies his name could not with any propriety be omitted. At the same time the truth of history will oblige us to own, that in several particulars this great man was much misled.

HE was much misled, as we observed this morning, in the affair of *Cyprus*. Probably a mistaken principle of obedience to the commands of his country engaged him in that unjust expedition,

THE other principal objections to his character are the several marks which appear in it of harshness



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ness and severity, of pride and want of condescension in accomodating himself to those customs and manners of the age, which in themselves were indifferent. Add to these, some great errors in family life, and above all the most unhappy catastrophe of his last hour. 46.

BUT, on the other hand, how many circumstances are there to be found in his history, which evidently shew, as *Tully* observes, *quòd hæc omnia non à naturâ Catonis erant?*

*CATO's* temper, though full of spirit and resolution, was far from being deficient in tenderness, or mercy. This is plain, not only from his amiable conduct during the civil war (which was mentioned this morning) but also from many other of his actions. He was constantly disinclined to all unnecessary punishments. He always shewed the greatest gentleness, courtesy, and good-nature to all in private life. *Eâ conditione Cato nobis in hac civitate natus est, ut ejus opes & ingenium, præsidio multis etiam alienissimis: vix cuiquam inimico exitio esse deberet. Bona M. Catonis, quæ ille adeptus est, ut multis prodesse posset\** His person and lands were devoted to the service of his friends. The sweetness of his temper is above all most visible in that extreme fondness and regard which he bore to his brother, and which was continually increasing even

\* See *Tully's* oration for *Muræna*.

even from his most early years: never perhaps was there a more amiable and beautiful scene of fraternal love than that which is contained in *Cato's* history.

IN relation to pride, he certainly was *in general* averse to flattery. He often refused honours, and he seems to have done so from a motive of real humility: for when every one thought him worthy of the highest honour, he alone was of the contrary opinion.

As to want of condescension in accomodating himself to the times, he certainly often shewed great wisdom in yielding, as far as he thought he might, in order to prevent greater evil.

I WISH I could be totally silent in regard to the dismal and never sufficiently lamented end of *Cato's* life. Most unworthy was it of his former fortitude and virtue: and far inferior to the example which the pontifex *Scævola* had shewn here at *Rome*, or to that which *Regulus* had shewn in the same African country; for *Carthage* was almost within sight of *Utica*\*. On this subject I ought to speak most unwillingly; yet let me observe, that some kind of despondency or fear is always the original

\* See the comparison of the character of *Regulus* with that of *Cato* in this respect, in *St. Austin's* book *de Civitate Dei*, lib. i. c. 24.

original motive of suicide; fear either of shame, pain, want, or somewhat similar; a passion surely which never had a place in *Cato's* natural constitution.

To what cause then are most of the stains which disgrace the character of *Cato* to be attributed? Probably to his instructors, the stoics: for in their writings, most of these capital defects are described as moral excellencies.

LET us attend to what *Cicero* says in various places on this subject. *In Marco Catone hæc bona quæ videmus divina, egregia ipsius scitote esse propria. Quæ nonnunquam requirimus ea sunt omnia, non à naturâ suâ sed a magistro. His enim tot tantisque ejus virtutibus accessit adjumentum doctrinæ non moderate neque mitis, sed asperioris ac durioris. Stoicorum scilicet disciplinam auctoribus eruditissimis indutus arripuit, & talium præceptorum (Zenonis præsertim, summo ingenio viri, magistri sui) studiis flagavit.* How much is it indeed to be wished, *ut ad alios magistros aliqua te fortuna, Cato, cum illâ naturâ detulisset?*

YET, seated as we are at present by *Zeno's* statue, let us not omit to do proper justice even to the stoics themselves. Many of their doctrines are very noble, very exalted: many of their examples deserve our study, deserve our imitation. But at  
the

the same time that we acknowledge this, let us again and again bless Providence for having assisted *us* with other examples, far more perfect than those of any *Roman* worthy; with other instructions far more correct and complete than this *Grecian* philosophy which thus abounded with great errors mixt with great wisdom, and taught great vices mixt with great virtues.

*CRITO* now began to consider the Christian religion in contrast with the stoic philosophy. There is no need to insert here the particulars of his discourse: they seem indeed to be in some measure foreign from the subject of these *Roman* Conversations: it may be sufficient to observe in general that his discourse was, in its beginning cool; it was throughout learned and judicious; but in its progress his heart became gradually warm, and at the conclusion broke out in a pure *flame* of piety.

THE Christian character (said he towards the conclusion) is not only more noble, more grand, and awful than any imagined perfection in this so much celebrated philosophy, but it has also a grace, amiableness, and beauty, which never adorned any stoic vision. Much fuller is it than stoicism of the spirit of true justice, but infinitely fuller of benevolence and mercy. Fuller of the spirit of just inflexibility in what is right; but still more full  
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of condescension and sweetness. Fuller of fortitude, but infinitely more abounding in patience, in resignation, and in the highest most unextinguishable hope. Greater as to exaltation of mind but infinitely greater in the deepest humility, and in the most grateful acknowledgement that all its virtues are the gifts of the grace of heaven.

*All that we have and are, we have received, O Lord,  
from Thy grace:*

*All that we desire and hope, we humbly expect in  
Thy glory.*

INDULGE me, my dear fellow students in these reflections. The grace of heaven is the great distinguishing blessing of the christian dispensation; we cannot employ our meditations on a subject more sublime.

I REMEMBER that about last *Whitsuntide* I was taking a solitary walk in this part of *Rome*, and passed by a church situate in one of the narrow lanes situate at the foot of *this Capitoline hill*. The hymn of *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was then performing there, set to most affecting solemn music. In attending to some of the notes and words of that heavenly harmony, I could not avoid recollecting a passage in a very venerable writer: a writer, who, though somewhat barbarous in his language, (he lived probably about the time of our  
king

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king *Richard* the Second) yet in his sentiments is generally very exalted; far more exalted on the whole than *any of these* philosophers.

*O verè cælestis Gratia, sine quâ nihil doctrina, nihil eloquentia, nihil ingenium valet in conspectu Dei!*

*O Beatissima Gratia, quæ pauperem spiritu, virtutibus divitem facis, & divitem multis bonis, humilem corde reddis!*

*Veni! descende ad nos! Tu fortitudo nostra. Tu auxilium confers, & consilium. Tu lumen cordis. Tu fugatrix tristitiæ, & ablatrix timoris. Tu devotionis nutrix.*

*Tu nos semper prævenias, & bonis operibus jugiter præstes esse intentos\*.*

CHAP.

\* *Imitatio Christi*, lib. iii. c. 55.

CHAP. VI.

SIXTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE character of *Cicero* being the intended subject of this day's conversation, the company agreed to meet early in the *Farnese* gardens; (those gardens cover most part of the summit of mount *Palatine*) and, after passing an hour there, to set out from thence in their coach, and dine at *Frescati*, which town is about twelve miles distant from *Rome*.

THE northern part of the *Farnese* gardens was the appointed place of their meeting. *Crito* walked thither about nine o'clock, (according to his *English* watch) and found his beloved company all arrived there before him.

THE young nobleman was seated on a projecting part of the hill, and from thence taking a design of the narrow valley of the *Forum Romanum* (which lay under him) and of the opposite *Clivus Capitolinus*.

HIS pupil was leaning against a cypress, and silently studying an octavo which contained some of *Tully's* rhetorical and philosophical works.

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THE third young gentleman was walking with a volume of the Orations in his hand; sometimes reflecting with high pleasure, that *Tully's* house stood in *this part* of the *Farnese* gardens\*; sometimes repeating aloud several of that great orator's shining periods.

*CRITO* listened to him for a considerable time with great attention, and then (being always ready to partake of the satisfaction felt by any part of this good company) he turned round to the young nobleman, and admired all the merit of his drawing.

He afterwards sat down under the cypress by his pupil's side.

THE company now desired him to favour them as usual with the contents of one of his papers.

BEFORE I begin, said he, to speak of the character of *Tully*, which has been represented by several eminent writers in *very different* lights, I ought to premise, that I by no means think myself a competent judge of the question: my judgment is far too weak, my knowledge far too superficial. When I composed this paper I lay under another disadvantage also, being in great want of proper books to consult on the occasion. A traveller cannot

\* See Abate *Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 15.



cannot carry a library with him, nor must he expect to have this want supplied at the bookseller's shops in the towns through which he passes. The only book of the kind which I could then procure was *Middleton's Cicero*, (I bought it at *Modena*) it had belonged to a *Scotch* gentleman who died there on his travels.

THE paper in my hand, as you will therefore expect, consists of little more than mere extracts from Dr. *Middleton*. In some future year of your lives, you may perhaps allot some leisure time to the thorough and impartial examination of *Cicero's* character: you will be greatly assisted in that examination, by some books which have been lately published in *France* and *England*, and by others which are said to be now preparing for the press. Long before that time you will have totally forgotten that I ever troubled you with a paper on the subject; otherwise it would be proper that I should make an apology for it. Indeed, when I recollect the criticisms made by some learned persons on *Cicero's* conduct, I am afraid that in this paper his defects are too much concealed or palliated; and on the contrary, when I take up Dr. *Middleton*, I have the greatest reason to think, that in this my very imperfect compilation, I have not done justice to the hundredth part of his merit.

## C I C E R O.

## P A R T I.

**I**T seems a considerable mark not only of goodness of heart, but also of real strength of understanding, and a very proper method for improving both these qualities, if, in the consideration of any great and exalted character, the student observes indeed its defects, yet dwells not too much on them, nor views them in the most unfavourable light; but candidly considers the whole character together, and then applies his attention more peculiarly to the study of those its parts, which are the most noble or beautiful.

The character of *Cicero* has, for many ages, drawn the attention and, *generally speaking*, the admiration of mankind.

IN discoursing on such a character, let us be as silent as possible in relation to its imperfections; and, according to the generous scope and intention of these our *Roman Conversations*, endeavour to improve ourselves as much as we can, by diligently studying its real excellencies.

LET us consider, that though *Cicero* lived in one of the most corrupt ages that ever was known, yet  
he

he was totally free from any stain either of avarice or luxurious debauchery.

As to pride, which was the third great vice of those times, *Cicero* certainly had nothing of that cruel *Roman* pride which was the occasion of much misery to *Rome*, and to those nations which had any connection with her. *Cicero* was not proud of any actions which were vicious in themselves, or hurtful to other persons. He was not proud of riches or power. It must be indeed acknowledged, that he was vain, very vain, of the great abilities of mind which he really possessed, and of the great services which he had really performed for his country. This vanity is one of the universally acknowledged weaknesses in *Tully's* character. If he had been more *bumble and lowly in his own sight*, he certainly would have been not only a much happier, but also a much better man: for humility, as it is in itself a great virtue, so also is it the foundation of many others.

BUT humility was an excellence little known in the heathen world.

LET us then turn our thoughts to those virtues which may, with more probability, be expected in a heathen character.

In private life, (permit me on this head to refer you, my dear pupil, to the beginning of the twelfth section in Dr. *Middleton's* history) *Cicero* was a kind and generous master; he was an excellent father; he was grateful to his benefactors; and sincerely zealous for his friends, whether they were in prosperity or in adversity. His works are full of these noble sentiments, and his life full of examples of them.

*CICERO* loved his country, *Φιλοπατρις* *ἦν*, even as *Octavius* owned; he laboured to support its ancient constitution and liberty. He sometimes shewed great intrepidity in resisting the attempts of its enemies: at other times it must be acknowledged, he seems to have been silenced and overawed. Perhaps this might be real weakness of mind. On the other hand, perhaps it may be said, that *Tully* might be of opinion that he was serving his country, by suspending sometimes all useless opposition to the irresistible power of the usurpers of the national authority. He might think, that it was more patriotic, as well as more prudent, to soften them by patience and submission; and by proper management to conduct them into such a train of thoughts and actions, as might produce something considerably beneficial to the public.



BUT however this may be, certainly the most fair method of passing judgment on the political character of *Tully*, is to examine how he behaved when he himself was in power.

IT is indeed at those times, that the splendor of his character shines forth in its true lustre; at those times his appearance in the history of his country discloses itself with as much dignity, as attended the *founder of this Roman empire*, when (according to the description which you, my dear pupil, have often admired in *Virgil*) he discovered himself in the fullest majesty before the tribunals and senate of *Carthage*.

*Scindit se nubes & in æthera purgat apertum  
Restitit Æneas, clarâque in luce refulsit.*

LET us consider his conduct while governor of *Cilicia*; we shall find in it much patriotism, much philanthropy. He had in his youth behaved very well, while *Quæstor* at *Syracuse*; but this *Asiatic* government produced a very considerable addition of honour to his character.

CICERO seems to have followed, in great measure, the glorious plan of government, which his master, *Scævola*, had observed in *Asia Minor*.

*CICERO* principally gave his attention to relieve the grievances of his province, by lightening that heavy load of debts, with which the avarice of his predecessors had incumbered it; and by remedying all the other evil consequences of their bad government. The *Asiatics*, who had joined with the former governors in oppression and plunder of their country, were by *Cicero* obliged to refund whatever they had thus extorted. *Cicero* protected the province also from all *Roman* oppressors; from some in particular who were of the highest rank in *Rome*, and otherwise greatly connected with himself. Nor was he less diligent in averting evils rising from other causes; he alleviated the scarcity of provisions, which at that time afflicted *Cilicia* and *Cyprus* almost like a famine. He prepared with great spirit to defend the frontiers against the threatened and *then most formidable* invasion of the *Parthians*.

He permitted to the natives of his whole province, the use of their own laws. He was kind and affable at all times to all: indeed the spirit of every part of his government was, like that of every other part of his life, most mild and merciful, though at the same time very prudent and very active. Nor was he less remarkable for his noble disinterestedness. For as he supported the dignity of his office of proconsul liberally, not sumptuously, he had no temptation to fraud or rapine.

rapine. He was able to refuse the immense perquisites, presents, contributions, &c. with which his predecessors had disgraced their administration. *Cicero* accepted only the most just and moderate duties of his office; and even from those his lawful appointments he bestowed several thousand pounds to the relief of distressed particulars or communities in his government. At his departure he declined the acceptance of several then usual public honours: he declined also the great free gift, which was offered to him voluntarily by the province, and which is said on the whole to have amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. You seem surprized, dear sir: but the generosity of *Cicero* in his government of *Cilicia*, was much greater in other articles, according to two extracts which I have made from Dr. *Middleton's* history: the sum mentioned in the second extract is so excessive, that I should even apprehend there must be some mistake in the calculation.

ALL the wealthier cities of the province used to pay to all their proconsuls large contributions for being exempt from furnishing winter quarters to the army: (*Cyprus* alone paid yearly on this single account two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds) but *Cicero* remitted this *whole* tax to them, which alone made a *vast* revenue.

Quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 33.

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IN his province of *Cilicia*, he saved to the public a full *million* sterling, which all other governors had applied to their private use.

Vol. ii. p. 513.

WHILE *Crito* was reading these noble particulars relative to *Tully's Cilician* government, the whole company grew warm in his praise; they totally forgot the blemishes in his character, and were almost as much engaged in his favour as Dr. *Middleton* himself. *Crito* also partook of the ardent pleasure expressed by his young friends, and proceeded in the remaining part of his lecture in a much more elevated stile, than that with which he had begun it.

As to the great offices of state with which *Cicero* was intrusted *here* at *Rome*, one instance will be abundantly sufficient to demonstrate the excellence of his wise and good administration; I mean, that ever memorable work of his consulship. ΟΤΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΝ Η ΤΩΝ ΠΩΠΟΤΕ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΙΣΜΩΝ, ΥΠΟ ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΚΟΙΣ ΑΝΕΥ ΣΑΠΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΑΧΗΣ ΚΑΤΕΣΒΕΒΗ \*

O MY dear and noble friends, if we have any sparks of patriotisim in our hearts, how ought they now to burn?

DIRECTLY

\* *Plutarchus in vitâ Tullii.*



DIRECTLY on *this* very angle of this hill, on which we stand, was the house of *Tully*. On the evening of the defeat of the conspiracy, he was most honourably conducted hither from *that Capitoline* hill, across that valley of the *Forum Romanum*, by a general procession of the senate and people of *Rome*; all, with the acclamation of many thousand voices, proclaiming him the general deliverer.

O MY dear friends, how often have you, while at *Westminster*, wandered about the great hall of the tribunals of *England*, and about the avenues of both the Houses of the *British* Parliament, thinking on the history of those great men, who in each of those venerable edifices have in several successive ages, by their wisdom and eloquence, by their justice and integrity, done much service and honour to our country? A scene of the same nature, and of at least equal dignity, is now before your eyes.

Look at *those* three lofty columns of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*! it was there that *Cicero* confounded all the fierceness of the conspirators by the thunder of the first *Catilinarian* oration. Look on that still remaining portico of the temple of *Concord*! there all the glory of *Tully* was completed and crowned; when, in full senate there assembled, *Catulus* and *Cato* both in so solemn a manner

manner saluted him with the highest stile and title of *Father of his country*. *Salve, Cicero* ; *primus omnium Pater patriæ appellatus* \* !

How awful a ceremony was that ? How august a spectacle ?—O my dear poetic pupil, how happy would you be to repose for some hours under the shade of these cypresses, if the genius of the place would condescend to bless your slumbers with a dream, reviving in your imagination the antient grandeur of this part of *Rome*, and representing to you in full vision some of these scenes ?

BUT let us, continued *Crito*, taking up his papers of notes, proceed to other parts of *Tully's* history.

44. SOON after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, *Cicero* vigorously exerted himself in the direction of the affairs of the republic : his conduct at that time is in general thus represented by *Dr. Middleton*.

“ WITH the universal consent and joy of the  
“ people *Cicero* accepted the care of the govern-  
“ ment, then in extreme danger. He laboured  
“ in

\* The first *Catilinarian* oration was spoken in this temple of *Jupiter Stator*. (Vid. the last paragraph in that oration.) The second and third from the *Rostra* in the *Forum*. The fourth probably in the temple of *Concord* : which was the most usual place of the assemblies of the senate during these *Catilinarian* troubles.

" in forming and executing such a plan of policy,  
 " as seemed most likely to save the sinking state.  
 " At least it was to his counsels and to his autho-  
 " rity, that *Rome* owed that last effort which was  
 " then made for her liberty. *Cicero* with great  
 " resolution resisted *Antony*, a tyrant much worse  
 " than *Julius Cæsar*. (*I could wish however that*  
 " *there was not so much rancour expressed in the*  
 " *Philippics*.) *Cicero* with great wisdom converted  
 " *Hirtius*, *Pansa*, and other powerful men to the  
 " cause of their country, (he hoped to do the  
 " same with *Octavius*) and directed and united all  
 " their power to his designs for the public good.  
 " He endeavoured to restore general concord and  
 " quiet among all parties, by \* wisely proposing  
 " a general act of oblivion for what was passed.  
 " Far was he from being discouraged by the great  
 " dangers which he saw impending over his head;  
 " he knew not now the sense of fear; (of which  
 " weakness he was sometimes justly accused) he  
 " despised all perils. The government was in his  
 " hands, and he supported it with the same wis-  
 " dom, with the same heroic intrepidity, which  
 " he had shewn in the times of *Catiline*. *Nullum*  
 " *locum prætermisit monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc*  
 " *denique animo erat, ut si in hac curâ atque admini-*  
 " *stratione*

\* *Illud decreti Atheniensium celeberrimi (relatum a Cicerone)*  
*oblivionis præteritarum rerum decreto patrum comprobatum est.*  
*Vell Paterculus,*

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*"stratione vita illi ponenda esset, præclarè ætium secum  
"putaret."*

SUCH indeed was his fate ; and most happy and honourable may we justly esteem it. For let us look round on the other great men of those turbulent times, (who indeed almost all died a violent death) and compare their last hour with that of *Cicero*. *Pompey's* death is indeed a striking lesson of the instability of the greatest human grandeur and power ; but yet does not confer any honour on himself ; it being uncertain, whether he was brought to that catastrophe by the spirit of love to his country, or by that of mere and mean private ambition. *Cæsar* and *Crassus* died in a bad cause : *Cato* and *Brutus* in a bad manner. *Cicero* died undeniably in the cause of his country : he shewed however his regard to his natural duty, by declining death as far as he might ; but when the last stroke came, he met it with joy and fortitude equal to any of the above-mentioned, or any other of the most celebrated heroes of *Rome*.



*CRITO* now closed his papers. I compiled this very short and imperfect paper, said he, partly at *Modena*, partly at *Bologna*. For while I was at *Modena*, my imagination was strongly affected with the memory of the latter part of *Cicero's* history ;



history; and in my road from *Modena* to *Bologna*, I saw with horror the infamous spot of the *Isola Trionvirado*.

As soon as *Crito* had folded up his notes he sat down, and meditated for some moments in silence on the dreadful scenes which appeared in *this part of Rome* at the time of that bloody proscription, which was the consequence of the negotiation near *Modena*; a proscription more bloody, if possible, than any of *Marius's* or *Sylla's* massacres.

THE rest of the company, whose youthful imaginations were more lively, thought they saw all the carnage really before them; dogs tearing the carcases, and flocks of vultures \* screaming from the roofs of the adjoining temples.

AFTER some time *Crito* took up the volume of *Tully's* works, which his pupil had been perusing, and turned to the beginning of the third book *de Oratore*. With a melancholy accent he began to read the following lines.

*In his ipsis rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissimè consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, à quo erant multorum civium capita servata.*

As

\* Διων. Βιβ. μζ.

Γεντὶς ἐπὶ τῇ νῦν τῇ γυνικῇ τῇ δυνάμει, καὶ ἐν τῇ Οὐρανῇ παρὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἰστί, καὶ ἐν τῇ, ἐν τῇ, καὶ τῇ σφαιρῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐπὶ τῇ, καὶ τῇ πᾶσι ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ.

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As soon as *Crito* had read these lines, he stretched out his right hand, pointing to a barn which stands in the middle of the narrow valley between the northern point of the *Farnese* gardens, and the *Capitoline* hill \*.

O MY dear pupil, cannot you imagine that you now see *there* the pale face and lifeless hands of *Tully*? The head which meditated, the hands which wrote (for let us not think of the *Philippics*) all the noble *Philosophic* treatises in this volume.

SUCH an idea must peculiarly affect *your* good mind. The idea of the mangled head of *Crassus* or of *Pompey* lying on the sands of *Parthia* or of *Egypt*, cannot affect you in the like manner. For the vanity of the greatest riches and power will give *you* but little concern, in comparison of the thought, that genius and learning perish also. But take comfort, there is one accomplishment of the mind *which will never fail, though tongues cease, and knowledge vanisheth away.*



ONE

\* On this spot stood the antient *Roman Rostra*, till the time of *Augustus Caesar*, who removed them about a stone's cast nearer to the *Palatine* hill. Adjoining to the northern point of the *Farnese* gardens are to this day still remaining several high brick walls, said to be the remains of the fabric of the *Rostra* built by *Augustus*.

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ONE of the young noblemen's servants now coming to acquaint his master that the coach was, according to his order, waiting in the *Campo Vaccino*, the company concluded their morning studies, and set out for *Frescati*. On the road the conversation frequently wandered to various topics, frequently it returned to the *Roman* history; the great events in *Tully's* times having deeply engaged their attention.

As they drew near to *Frescati*, the young nobleman looked out of the coach window, on the right, towards *Albano*, and began to talk of the antiquities in *that* neighbourhood.

YOU remember, said he, the ruined monument which stands in the middle of the high road near *Albano*; I mean the monument with five small pyramids on its top, which is commonly called the tomb of the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, but which is supposed by more learned antiquarians to be the sepulchre erected by *Cornelia* to the memory of *Pompey*. I could wish that we were to pass by it to-day. In the present disposition of our minds, the sight of *Pompey's* sepulchre would be a very pleasing though melancholy object.

SOME of the admirers of the Night Thoughts, said *Crito's* pupil, I believe would not have been sorry, if that poem had been written in *Italy*.  
How

How would *that* author have moralized, while leaning on the monument, which contains the ashes of *Pompey the Great*?

*Regnatorem Asiæ ! jacet ingens littore truncus  
Avulsumque humeris caput, & sine nomine corpus.*

I KNOW not, replied *Crito*, how to reconcile the different opinions of the antients, relative to what became of the ashes of *Pompey*. *Plutarch* expressly says, that they were buried by *Cornelia* at *Alba*. On the other hand, if we strictly follow the opinion of *Martial* and *Lucan*, that sepulchre must be a *cenotaph* only. For *Pompey's* remains, as *Lucan* very diffusively describes, were in his time still in *Egypt*. *Martial* also says,

— ipsum  
*Terra tegit Libyes, si tamen ulla tegit.*

Perhaps *Pompey's* head, which was presented to *Julius Cæsar* at *Alexandria*, might be sent by him (according to his usual humanity) to *Cornelia*, and by her interred *there* at *Albano*\*; the remainder of his dust is probably still mingled with the common sand and mud of the *Egyptian* shore.

THE conversation now again wandered to other subjects. About noon the coach arrived at the gates

\* See *Eschinardi's* description of the *Agro Romano*, p. 302.



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gates of *Frescati*, the young nobleman sent a servant into the town to order dinner at the inn to be ready (according to the *Italian* custom of dining early) in an hour and a half, and then told his coachman to drive in the mean time to the neighbouring monastery of *Grotta Ferrata*.

THE road from *Frescati* to *Grotta Ferrata* is very pleasant; the first part of it is a shady wood, the latter part of it is an open corn field, adorned with several oriental plane trees, which from their vast size seem to be some hundreds of years old.

PERHAPS, said *Crito's* pupil, they may be the descendants of that plane tree of *Crassus*, which *Tully* describes with such pleasure; *Ad opacandum hunc locum patulis diffusa ramis* \*. But let us not think of *Crassus*, we are now near the country-house of *Tully* himself.

*GROTTA Ferrata*, said *Crito*, is, you know, commonly supposed to be the place of *Tully's Tusculan* villa. *Addison* and *Middleton* strongly embraced that tradition; but some *Italian* antiquarians are of a contrary opinion, and produce several weighty arguments, proving its situation to have been rather at the *Ruffinella*, which is about

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M

two

\* See *de Oratore*, lib. I. c. 7.

two miles nearer to *Tusculum* \*. There are indeed scarce any remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood of *Tusculum*, which are not imagined, either by the vulgar or by some antiquarians, to have belonged to *Cicero*. Perhaps of all these their different opinions, some one may be true. In the midst of this uncertainty, let us however have the pleasure of walking to the *Ruffinella* in the afternoon, and at present of visiting *Grotta Ferrata*.

IN about half an hour's time the coach arrived at the convent. The monks who inhabit it are of a *Greek* (the *Basilian*) order. They received this *English* company with great civility, shewed them some antient marbles in the cloyster, as some kind of proof that *Tully's* villa might have been situate there: and then conducted them to the other curiosities of the place, particularly *Domenichino's* paintings in the chapel. The young nobleman studied those pictures for a considerable time, not without expressing the greatest admiration.

HE afterwards got into his coach, gave the monks thanks for their civility, and returned with his *English* friends to *Frescati* to dinner.

III. AFTER

\* See *Eschinardi's Descrizione dell' Agro Romano*, p. 274, 275, 276.

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AFTER dinner the eldest of the young gentlemen laid himself down on the couch to sleep: (he had set up most part of last night to read *Plutarch's* life of *Cato*). The young nobleman diverted himself with finishing the drawing which he had begun this morning, and *Crito* retired with his pupil into the next room to their *Ciceronian* studies.

ABOUT two and twenty o'clock the company walked out. Just at the edge of the town their Roman servant shewed them a rough mass of stone, said to be the remains of *Lucullus's* mausoleum. From thence they walked up to the *Ruffinella*.

THE *Ruffinella* is situate half-way between the pleasant town of *Frescati*, and the rocks and ruins of the most antient and lofty city of *Tusculum*. No walk can be more agreeable than the ascent from *Frescati* thither, through the groves, and by the numerous cascades of *Villa Pamphili*; on one side of which, towards the plain, appear the beautiful shades and streams of *Villa Conti*, formerly the habitation of *Lucullus*; and on the other side, the road planted with laurel, which leads towards the steep hill of *Monte Portio*, the family seat of *Cato*\*.

M 2

BUT

\* *Anni sono, della parte di Frescati che riguarda Monte Porzio fu trovato il sepolcro antiquissimo della Famiglia Porcia repertata del Bellori & dal Velpi.*

*Abate Venuti.*

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BUT far elevated above all is that venerable open grove of lofty pines near the *Ruffinella*, which crowns the ridge of the *Tusculan* mountains, and shades the spot where *Cicero's* villa and rural *lycaum* once perhaps stood.

IN the field on the side of this grove are still to be seen many marks of terrasses, and a large and broad mosaic pavement still entire. This pavement might perhaps (as the young nobleman pleased himself with imagining) belong to *Cicero's* library, the center of it being ornamented with a large design of the head of *Minerva* \*.

How grand and how delightful is the situation of this apartment, said the young nobleman; and how properly is it adapted to the character of its great inhabitant? *Cicero*, though the most studious and most learned man of his times, yet perhaps never, amidst all the pleasures and all the labours of his studies, forgot (his favourite object in them all) beneficence to *Rome* †.

PERMIT me to continue to indulge myself for some moments in supposing this apartment to have been

\* *Condamine*, in his tour to *Italy*, p. 42, speaks of this pavement as the most beautiful work of the kind remaining, and of this head of *Minerva* as executed in the noblest manner.

† Λογισμὸς αὐτῆς, ὡς καὶ, λόγοις καὶ φιλοπατρίας.

See the conclusion of *Cicero's* life by *Plutarch*.



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been his *library*. To the south how solemn a prospect opens itself over the forests of *Algidum*, the mountains and lakes of *Alba*, and the sea-coast quite to the woody island of *Astura*, where *Cicero* had another residence, designed for still more retired study? To the north, he might here have always before his view *Rome*, (the magnificence and splendor of which city is even now widely spread over the *Campania* before us) with all those great works of public utility, those many grand and everlasting paved roads, and those many long and lofty aqueducts, which (like his designs) stretch from all sides across this vast plain to their great and common center.

WHILE the young nobleman was thus speaking, *Crito* turned to him with a look of respect and love; and how happy should we have been, said he, if, after you had finished this afternoon your drawing of the temple of *Concord*, you had favoured us with your company in the next room. Your loving and worthy friend, (I know not whether I ought to call him my pupil or my tutor) was then assisting me in preparing and finishing this second short paper on *Cicero's* character. He reminded me of several passages, shewing that *Tusculum* was always *Cicero's* favourite country-seat, from which he wrote *with the greatest pleasure* several of his epistles, in which he composed *with the greatest spirit* several of his orations, and

which he made the scene of several of his rhetorical and philosophic dialogues; particularly of those two, the *principal* perhaps of each kind, the books *de Oratore*, and the *Tusculan* questions.

So fond indeed was Tully of his country-seat here, as frequently to expatiate with pleasure on the description of persons and places in this neighbourhood. *Monte Portio* was the farm of Cato the elder, the principal speaker in the dialogue *de Senectute*. At *Villa Conti* was the famous library of Lucullus, which is the scene of the dialogues in the third and fourth book *de Finibus*; and in which these two illustrious country neighbours, Cicero and Cato the younger, then and probably often really met. *Ibi Catonem sedentem inveni, multis circumfufum libris: erat enim in illo aviditas legendi, neque fariari poterat: Et malumus, mihi dixit, hunc puerum Luculli (the pupil of Cato and Cicero) his libris potius, quàm omni reliquo villæ ornatu delectari.*

MODERN *Frescati*, replied the young nobleman, notwithstanding all its beauty and splendor, is I apprehend much inferior to *Tusculum*, as it appeared in the times of Tully, when the sides of these hills, and all the environs, were covered with the country palaces of the Roman senators. At *Casal Morena*, was, I have heard, *Muræna's* villa: at *Villa Magna* one of *Pompey's* houses; but the seats  
of

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of *Cicero* and *Lucullus* seem to have been the principal buildings of this place; they were far superior I suppose to *Villa Conti*, *Villa Pamphili*, or *Monte Dragone* itself.

SCARCE ever was any country place (said *Crito's* pupil) adorned with two such famous libraries. That of *Lucullus* was, I should imagine, the most expensive; that of *Tully*, the best chosen collection.

The young nobleman now began to speak of the ornaments of *Tully's* library, particularly the *Hermathenæ* \*, when observing a paper in *Crito's* hand, he sat down, and desired him to favour the company with its contents.

M 4

CICERO.

\* *Quod ad me de Hermathenâ scribis per mihi gratum est. & ornamentum academici proprium meæ; quod & Hermes commune omnium; & Minerva singulare est insigne ejus gymnasii. Quare velim, ut scribis ceteris quoque rebus quàm plurimis cum lepore ornes. Signa illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo.*

*Ep. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 4.*

## C I C E R O.

## PART II.

*Quid dedicatum poscat Apollinem  
Vates? Quid oret de paterâ sacrum  
Fundens liquorem?*

WHAT ought to be the *principal* wish of a young man, who has already had the happiness to be entered into a course of good education? For what blessing may we suppose *Tully* to have principally petitioned in his youth at the shrine of *Apollo*, of *this* his favourite patroness *Minerva*, or of any other of those deities, who were imagined to preside over the improvement of the human mind?

*For the spirit of perpetual industry.*

STUDIOUS diligence, (I must be understood to mean that of the best kind) is one of the great principles of growth to the human understanding, which it is continually forming, filling, and extending; correcting and healing what is amiss in it, guarding it from many harms, from many unnecessary worldly cares; supplying its defects, and improving and exalting its excellencies.

SUCH



SUCH is it to the mind ; nor is it really an enemy to the health of the body ; especially when attended by temperance and moderate exercise, each of which greatly strengthens our mental as well as corporeal frame.

IF we look on the life of *Cicero*, we shall find it filled with labour and industry. His indefatigable application far surpasses what we generally conceive of study, and seems almost incredible. It is said, that the time which other young men of his age gave up to pleasure and diversion, was by him regularly added to his studious hours. It is said, that he never gave up one leisure hour to absolute idleness ; all the intervals of his great labours being generally applied to some other good purpose.

THIS studious diligence was the means indispensably necessary to qualify even such a genius as *Tully* for his great literary attainments. Let us not be disheartened by this consideration ; but let us rather reflect with pleasure that *Cicero*, by this most careful management of his time, made every day produce some valuable addition to the vast fund of his knowledge.

IN relation to the *fruits* of these his learned labours, I am by no means able to say any thing worthy your attention. Permit me to read to you  
some

some short extracts from Dr. *Middleton*, relative to this subject.

“No man, whose life had been wholly spent  
“in study, ever left more numerous or more va-  
“luable fruits of his learning in every branch of  
“science and the politer arts.”

BUT let us confine our thoughts at present to his philosophic works,

ROME, though in the time of *Cicero* superior to all the nations of the earth in power and dominion, yet was comparatively very deficient in knowledge, particularly in the knowledge of what is the summit of all literary glory, moral philosophy. *Cicero's* great design was to supply this most important *desideratum*. He laboured to encrease the knowledge of his countrymen, by adding to it whatever was wise or noble in the several *Grecian* philosophies. He laboured, above all, to place before their eyes, in the strongest light, those five great principles of natural religion and morality, on which the happiness of mankind so much depends; the existence of GOD; the reality of a Providence: the immortality of the soul; the future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and evil. *Reipublice causâ, philosophiam hanc Romanis hominibus explicandam putavit; magni existimans interesse ad decus*

Et ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves tamque præclaras Latinis etiam literis contineri. It is needless to observe, how nobly he executed this great design. Happy is it, that the compositions which he originally thus designed for the benefit of his country, have extended their good effects much farther, to many other ages and nations.

BUT it may be peculiarly useful for us, to observe, that *Cicero himself* seems to have received great benefit from these his studies at several different periods of his life.

FROM his early youth he had applied himself diligently to the study of moral philosophy. Soon indeed did he disdain, and with indignation reject, the mean doctrines of the *Epicurean* sect; but he industriously took all opportunities, both at home and on his travels, to imbibe the principles of some other much more exalted systems. At Rome, (let me repeat his own words) *totum se Philoni tradidit, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus*. During his travels, (which on the whole took up about *two years*) he resided *no less than six months* at Athens, at the house of *Antiochus*, the principal philosopher of the old academy\*: at Rhodes

\* Cum venissem Athenas sex menses cum Antiocho veteris academice nobilissimo ac prudentissimo philosopho fui, studiumque philosophicæ nunquam intermissum, à primæque adolescentiæ cultum et semper auctum hoc rursus summo auctore et doctore renovavi.

De Claris Oratoribus, c. 19.

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*Rhodes* also he studied philosophy with *Posidonius*, the most esteemed and learned stoic of that age.

O MY dear fellow-travellers, is it not a pleasing reflection (may it prove also a good omen to some of this company) to recollect, that *Cicero* in the year following his return from these his travels, acted very nobly in his first public office, his *Sicilian* quæstorship.

LET US consider *Tully's* life at another period. About his forty-second or forty-third year, we find him passing great part of his time with much satisfaction here at *Tusculum*. *Ex omnibus molestiis & laboribus hoc uno in loco conquiescimus. Tusculano ita delectamur ut nobismet ipsis tum denique cum huc venimus placeamus*\*. *Cicero* was at that time very eager in making a collection of *Greek* books, and forming a library. Such an employment is sometimes the work of mere ignorant vanity; but with *Tully* certainly it was far otherwise. He certainly was fully sensible, that on the proper learned furniture of this room would depend, in great measure, the usefulness of his present time of life, as well as the comfort of his old age. It seems highly probable, that *Tully* took this opportunity to refresh his memory in relation to some of his former studies; and that by this refreshment he

\* *Ep. ad Attic, lib. i. ep. 4, 5.*



he was enabled to atchieve the patriotic actions of his famous consulship in the next year, which was the forty-fourth of his life.

*About ten years afterwards we find Cicero resuming his studies with particular application. In his fifty-third year he frequently retired from the tumults of Rome to his country villas, passing his time partly at Cumæ, partly here at Tusculum. He was then employed in his great work de Republicâ, of which the Somnium Scipionis is the conclusion. When he had finished the two first books of that work, he read them to some of his friends here in his Tusculan villa. Sallust was one of the company\*.*

PARDON, dear sir, this interruption, said the eldest of the young gentlemen. But how fortunate would it be, if ever in plowing up these fields a chest should be discovered containing the manuscript of those books de Republicâ. A chest of Numa's manuscripts, was, I think, discovered on the Janiculan hill in the same manner. But pray proceed.

IN his fifty-fourth or fifty-fifth year, continued Crito, Tully wrote his treatise de Legibus, after the example of Plato, whom of all writers he most loved  
to

\* Ep. ad Q. Fratrem, lib. iii. 5.

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to imitate. This work was designed as a supplement, or second volume to his other *de Republicâ*.

IN his fifty-sixth year he was governor of *Cilicia*, protector and benefactor of the happy people committed to his care. O my dear friends, does it not seem highly probable, that *Cicero's* studies during the three preceeding years, had excited in his mind many noble sentiments, which he put in practice during that glorious government?

LET us consider him again at a *fourth* period. *Cicero* in his sixty-first, sixty-second, and sixty-third years, was more deeply perhaps than ever engaged in literary labours. He was then busy in works of greater dignity in themselves, and of greater utility to the world, than those which in modern times have been the happy fruits of the retirements of a *Clarendon*; or perhaps even of a *Bacon*. During these three years *Cicero* was employed in writing his history of the life of *Cato*, his treatise *de Consolatione*, *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, *de Gloria*; his *Hortensius vel cohortationes ad Philosophiam*; his books *de Academicis*, *de Finibus*, *de Naturâ Deorum*, *de Fato*; his translation of *Plato's Timæus* on the Nature and Origin of the Universe; and to crown all, his *Tusculans* and his *Offices*.

WHAT a long and splendid catalogue of literary labours? But what must have been *the spirit of*  
that

*that industry, by which such numerous and excellent works were planned and perfected? Credibile non est quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus,* says *Tully*, in one of his letters at this time.

It also most highly deserves our attention and admiration, that it was at this time, and in these retirements, that *Tully* strongly and intimately connected himself with the learned *Varro*; the design with which these two great men joined and united their literary labours, was the support of the cause of virtue.

O MY dear friends, your minds, I know, are filled with the two ruling principles of love of study, and love of doing good; let us here pause a little, and, seated as we are at present perhaps in the very library of *Cicero*, let us endeavour to excite in ourselves some meditations worthy of this subject and place.

VENERABLE as is the memory of *Cato*, yet how much more wise, noble, and good, (at least in one respect) was the conduct of *that* great mind, *quæ hic cogitabat?* In the midst of the most heavy public calamities, *Cicero* did not despair, nor abandon that existence in which providence had stationed him. Driven from the tribunals and senate, yet he ceased not to labour to do good to the utmost, by those other powers which still remained

in his hands; his *philosophical* studies. In the cultivation of these he most indefatigably exerted himself in *this* retirement: and the growth of them was so prospered, as to produce to the world infinitely more benefit, than whatever had arisen to it from his former *oratorical* and *political* abilities.—Such are the fruits of *resignation*, and of perseverance in doing good.—Such was the reward (a young poet might say in these poetic regions) of the pious *Aeneas* himself: who, on the fall of the kingdom of *Troy*, did not give himself up to despair, nor slay himself on the ruins of *Priam's* palace; but after having bravely done his duty to his country, (*Testor in occasu vestro, &c.*) he patiently resigned himself to the will of providence: (*nec spes opis ulla dabatur; Cessi.*) He retired, with some few companions, to *these very plains*; and here became the founder of all the grandeur and glory of the immense empire of *Rome*.

BUT it was not only to the public that *Cicero* was so happy as to be thus useful: by these, the last and most noble of his studious labours, he must have greatly comforted, ennobled, and exalted his own mind.

SUCH studies must have been by their general tendency, very serviceable in correcting those defects of character, by which it must be owned *Tully* had sometimes been sunk much lower than could



could be well imagined of so great a man. I mean his propension on one hand to pride, on the other to timidity: and consequently too much dejection in adversity, and too much confidence when in a prosperous state.

These defects seem to have grown on *Tully* while he continued deeply engaged in public and private business. Much converse with the world is indeed generally found to be very prejudicial to the heart, weakening its virtues, and inflaming its bad passions. The world is full of contagion, and *aria cattiva*.

On the contrary, *Tully's* moral studies in these retirements seem to have been the constant medicine of his soul. This grove seems to have been, at least in some degree, his ψυχῆς ἰατρειὸν.

HAPPY, happy would it have been, if his moral studies had been ennobled with a proper spirit of *piety* and *humility*.

IN relation to *piety*, it is difficult to conceive the infinite improvement which that heavenly grace might have produced in such a character as that of *Tully*. Let me remind you only of two expressions, which you heard read to you about this time yesterday evening, *Fugatrix tristitiæ, ablatrix timoris*.

IN relation to humility, permit me to read to you half a dozen lines, which I find written in my memorandum book, and dated at *Venice* in the beginning of last *September*. During our stay at *Venice*, by accident I went one day into the church of *St. George* in *Algá*; and heard there part of a sermon; the preacher was speaking of *Laurence Justinian*, the famous patriarch of *Venice*\*, and observed, that the most sincere and profound humility was the first thing in which that prelate laboured to ground his religious disciples.

*LAURENCE Justinian taught his scholars, that humility inspires the soul with true courage and resolution, by directing her to place her intire confidence in God alone, the only foundation of her strength. He compared humility to a river, which is low and still in summer, but loud and high in winter: so, said this pious prelate, humility is silent in prosperity, never elated or swelled by it; but it is high, magnanimous, and full of joy and invincible courage under adversity.*

THERE

\* *Laurentius Justinianus, patriá Venetus, dignitate Patricius, canonicus regularis S. Georgii in Algá. Triginta annis in regulari vitá exactis, Venetiarum episcopus constitutus est; postquam nullas non artes ut onus impositum excuteret, adhibuisset. Vir infucatá ergà Deum pietate, prodigá in pauperes charitate, & ingenti religionis zelo meritò celebrandus.*

*Cæve's Historia Literaria, Sæculum xv. p. 133.*

THERE seemed to me to be something of false taste in the simile, but the doctrine itself is surely highly important; it affected me peculiarly at that time, as in our late journey from *Bologna* to *Venice*, I had been often thinking on *Tully's* character.

IF *Tully* had directed his moral studies to the acquisition of such a virtue, surely his life would have been far more laudable and exemplary.

BUT, imperfect as his moral studies were, yet certainly they were of *great* service to him. Though not ἀριστοι, yet they were καλοὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην συμμαχοί.

BY their assistance he repaired in *some measure* the breaches in his mind, and fortified himself with new and noble resolutions. Thus animated, he resumed in his old age his political labours, for the service and assistance of the republic, then in her desperate and last agonies. In *that* dismal service *Cicero* shewed no marks of timidity or dejection: (you will please to remember that I speak from *Dr. Middleton*) he concluded all his labours by a death in the cause of his country; a death full of resignation, nor obscured by symptoms either of ostentation or fear.

43.

*APPIAN* visited that spot: χωριον καθ' ἵσθριον  
 ταδε τε παθες εἶδεν. In our journey next month to  
*Naples*, we shall necessarily pass near it. *Cicero's*  
 sepulchre is, as I have been informed, in the  
 vine-yard or olive-garden on the right-hand of  
 the entrance of *Mola*, the ancient *Formiæ*.

BUT to conclude. The moral studies of *Cicero*,  
 imperfect as they were, seem to have always amend-  
 ed and exalted his character, in proportion to the  
 diligence with which he applied himself to them.  
 They were, to him in some degree, like a frequent  
 renewal of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, which are said  
 to have been to the initiated \* *reverà initia vitæ*:  
 from them (to use his own words) he was in-  
 structed not only how to live with more real hap-  
 piness, but also how to die with a better hope:  
*Sed etiam, cum meliore spe, moriendi.*

\* \* \*

*CRITO* now rose from the bench, and proposed  
 to his young friends to return to *Frescati*, before  
 the evening dews came on; but in walking down  
 the hill, he could not refrain from expressing the  
 following sentiments.

IN

\* See *de Legibus*, lib. 2.



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IN concluding our reflections on *Cicero's* moral studies, and consequent actions, we must with sorrow repeatedly own, that they were both very imperfect. His conduct, *even at its best periods*, I am afraid, was not free from faults: his opinions relative to some very important points of moral and natural philosophy, were often wavering.

THESE considerations have very greatly abated the veneration which I should otherwise have felt in treading on that pavement, which (as our noble young friend with probability imagines) was often traversed by *Tully* in his studious meditations.

I MUST acknowledge, that I have been much more affected in several parts of our travels through *France* and *Italy*, on entering the libraries of some persons famous in modern history; who though they were of abilities far inferior to those of *Tully*, yet infinitely exceeded him in the general uprightness of their conduct, as well as in the happiness of their Christian faith. Never indeed do I enter the library of a wise and good man, without feeling some kind of secret awe. Wise and good study is justly esteemed, next after prayer, the highest exaltation of the human mind: and consequently, the library of the virtuous man, is, next after the church in which he prays, the most venerable and sacred place.

NOR is it only by wise study that it is thus, as it were, consecrated; in it are all his works of public and private beneficence generally planned: in it are the virtues which he owes to himself, continually examined and enlarged: from it, his most private, and perhaps most fervent devotions are daily ascending to heaven. I remember part of a copy of verses, translated from the *Italian* by my dear pupil, on a similar subject.

*Balm of the mind! hail studious solitude!*

*O bring with thee calm peace, wise piety!  
Bring self-correcting, still improving virtue!  
Bring charity, for ever meditating  
To all in just degrees most spreading highest good.*

*Hail! sacred solitude! thou from eternity  
Wast present at the glorious throne of God;  
And in his bounteous mind revolving sawest  
Creation's plan: how vast! how wise! how good!*

*Inhabitant of heaven, and friend of man,  
With all thy kindred virtues, here descend;  
And if ought human might become thy train,  
Let fairest science on thy footsteps wait.*

I FORGET the words of the next stanza, but they were expressive of the poet's wish, that  
science

## Chap. VI. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 183

science might come accompanied always by humility. Humility is indeed the beginning, middle and ending of all true knowledge, both in this world and in the next.



SCARCE had *Crito* pronounced these last words, when making a swift transition to other subjects, he began to talk of the pleasantness of the weather and the beauty of the country. The young nobleman admired with him the various tints of the trees, and the picturesque effect of several objects in the prospect. The eldest of the young gentlemen surveyed with pleasure the beautiful and pure azure of the *Italian* sky over their heads. *Crito's* pupil wished for some *English* clouds to variegate it, and for an *English* twilight to lengthen the evening.

TALKING on these and other similar topics, they arrived at *Frescati* about dusk; they found their coach, with the horses ready harnessed, standing before the inn door; they got into it as soon as they had paid the bill for their dinner, and drove to *Rome*.

THIS short night journey was very pleasant; there was indeed no moon, but the whole sky was

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filled with stars; multitudes of lights also were scattered over many parts of the *Roman Campania*, the fields being at that hour full of countrymen getting in their harvest during the cool of the night; these lights on the ground seemed to be, as it were, the reflection of those brighter luminaries in the heavens.

ABOUT an hour before midnight the company arrived safe at their lodgings at *Monte di Trinita*.

C H A P.



C H A P. VII.

SEVENTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

**E**NCHANTED as this company was in daily treading the *circle of the antiquities of Rome*, yet they forgot not to pay due attention to other great and worthy objects.

FROM the first beginning of their travels, *Crito* had been constantly industrious in examining the *real* religion, the natural history, and state of literature in every country; but he was peculiarly attentive to these three subjects, during his residence in the *Roman* territories.

THE young nobleman (as has been frequently observed) had been busy in the contemplation of the fine arts, especially painting: he had studied it with continually encreasing ardour in the *Flemish, Lombard, Venetian* and *Roman* schools.

HIS eldest companion with excessive diligence had laboured in the political mine; searching deeply into the laws, police, manufactures, commerce, funds, and forces of every state, in which he for any considerable time had resided. Nor was he  
blind

blind to the great *capabilities* of the ecclesiastical state in these several particulars \*.

*CRITO*'s pupil had proposed to himself another object of enquiry; viz. the various kinds and degrees of public beneficence, and the different workings of humanity and Christian charity in different parts of *Europe*. Scarce a day passed in which he had not made some progress in this work, either by digesting in proper order his former observations, or by acquiring fresh materials. He was indefatigably active in making proper enquiries after every wise law of mercy, after every wise charitable institution; esteeming all these labours most superabundantly repaid, if by these means he could, at any future time be able to introduce in his own country any one new method of doing good.

SUCH had been his darling object throughout the whole course of his travels, particularly during his residence at *Milan* and at *Rome*.

AMONG

\* The ecclesiastic state, as all travellers observe, is in a very poor condition; its governors, *even when well intentioned*, seem ignorant or inattentive to its great capability of improvement: inattentive; for, as *Addison* remarked in his travels, "to speak truly, they are here so taken up with the care of men's souls, that they neglect the care of their bodies:" ignorant, it often happening that the sovereign of this country has past most of his days in a convent, in some religious or studious retirement from the world.

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AMONG other articles of public beneficence, he was particularly desirous to acquire some sensible and true memoirs relative to the management of the best regulated *hospitals*; he even disdained not to make some enquiries relative to the care of the *prisons*.

THIS morning, while he was happily employed in transcribing and abridging some papers, *relative to this last subject*, he was visited by his tutor, and his two young friends. They surveyed the bundles of papers with which his table was covered: and then fixed their eyes on him with a complacency, such as that with which the angels look on one of their celestial brethren, while ardently engaged in some eminent work of divine benevolence.

THEY were beginning to express their sentiments on the occasion, but were prevented by him. Turning to the eldest of the young gentlemen, After all, said he, the greatest *temporal* charity is the charity of a wise government, which, by judicious encouragement of industry, in agriculture, in manufactures and commerce, both by sea and land, is able to cloathe comfortably and feed *millions* of its subjects. In this great charity there is not perhaps any country on the face of the universe superior or equal to *Great Britain*. But in the secondary, (though very important and laudable)

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laudable) charities, such as *hospitals for the sick and aged*, and other institutions of a similar nature, though our country is richly adorned with many noble foundations of this kind, yet I know not whether other nations of *Christendom* may not justly claim at least equal honour.

I HAVE often, both at home and abroad, heard our countrymen observe, perhaps with a patriotic partiality, that no country was equal to *England* in such works of charity: but see what *Keyser*, though a *German*, says of the *Italians*.

*CRITO*'s pupil now took up a volume of *Keyser*'s travels, which lay on the table open at the article of *Milan*, and read several passages in it.

HOWEVER this may be, continued he, yet certainly all travellers, notwithstanding their several political and religious differences, must acknowledge both the magnitude and multitude of the charitable institutions which are to be seen in all parts of *Italy*, especially at *Milan* and here at *Rome*.

I COULD wish, said *Crito*, that there was a good account published of all the *Italian*, and indeed of all the *European public charities*. A faithful and judicious description of the various institutions of mercy throughout *Christendom*, would certainly be

a



### Chap. VII. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 189

very pleasing book, as well as a very strong testimony of the excellence of the Christian religion, by displaying thus its beneficent genius and happy operation in the world\*. For it seems very worthy of observation, that all these noble institutions of mercy were utterly unknown in *Europe*, during the times of the ancient *Grecian* or *Roman* dominion, and have all risen on *Christianity*, their true foundation. Even *Mohammedism* has copied its spirit.

SUCH a book, said *Crito's* pupil, might perhaps be serviceable to another good purpose.

Is it not ardently to be wished, that the different nations of *Europe* would mutually study and imitate each other's moral excellencies? It was a wise principle of heathen *Rome*, never to think herself perfect in her military art, but constantly to observe and adopt whatever thing of that kind was truly laudable and useful in the neighbouring states. By this principle, and by this practice, she attained all her grandeur. By the same means certainly *England* might very considerably improve herself in the highest kind of true glory, Christian charity. Her public charities might thus grow to be the most abundant and complete, the most beau-

\* The sixteen last verses of the twenty-fifth chapter of *St. Matthew*, might perhaps be not improperly placed as a frontispiece to such a book.

beautifully variegated, and the most wisely selected of any in the universe.

IF I am not mistaken, said the young nobleman, some great new charities, the *Foundling*, *Lying-in*, and *Magdalen* hospitals, were in this manner lately imported into *England*.

THERE is another charitable institution, said *Crito*, which (if properly regulated) might justly be esteemed far more honourable and useful than any of those three. I mean that charity which you know flourishes very much in *Italy*, particularly here at *Rome*, the charity of giving portions to poor young maidens in marriage\*. It has at different times made several attempts to rise in *England*; archbishop *Laud* set an example of it in his native town of *Reading*; where, according to his small fortune he bequeathed a legacy out of which young women who have served a certain time in the same family, with a good character, are now apportioned.

AMONG

\* The legacies to this charity have been at *Rome* so very ample, that there is scarce any poor young woman in the whole city, of a creditable character, but what may be a partaker of them. The portioning of maidens make besides part of many ecclesiastical functions there. Once in the year no less than three hundred maidens appear in procession at the church of *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*. They come there to receive their marriage-portions; are all dressed in long and flowing white robes, such as are seen on several antique statues of *Roman* matrons; their faces in particular are covered exactly in the same manner as some of the most famous busts.

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AMONG all the *Roman* charities said the eldest of the young gentlemen; there is one which I have often thought might perhaps be as deserving of imitation as any. I mean the *convalescent* hospital, which receives poor patients cured in other hospitals, and supports them for some weeks with comfortable provision, till they have recovered their strength, and are able to return to their work. If I am not mistaken, you have an account of that hospital among your papers.

IN turning over *Crito's* pupil's papers to find that account, the young gentleman fixed his eyes by accident on the memoir relative to the modern *Roman prisons*. I heartily wish, said he, that you be able to extract from this memoir some hints which may be useful at home. There is perhaps no part of the *British* police in which there are more *desiderata*. I heard lately from *London*, that a proposal for rebuilding *Newgate* was soon to be laid before the House of Commons.

THE conversation now dwelt for some time on this topic, when *Crito's* pupil desired the company to take an hour's walk with him; he wished that they would permit him to be their conductor this morning: he had a great desire he said, to visit the remains of the two most noted prisons of *ancient Rome*. The company readily consented to his proposal.

SOME



SOME small remains of the ancient *Carcere Tulliano* are still to be seen at the foot of the south-east side of the *Capitoline* hill. Going down a flight of steps under the church of *S. Giuseppe Falegnami*, the company entered into the dark subterranean apartments of that ancient prison, and descended from dungeon to dungeon\*.

THE lowest dungeon is a round, low, and small vault †. In this dismal place it is said *Pleminius* died ‡; *Jugurtha* was starved to death §; and *Cethegus*, with the other murderers and incendiaries of *Cataline's* band were all strangled ||. This vault seems indeed in its situation, shape, and dimensions,

\* See Abate *Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 58.

† It nearly resembles the description given by *Diodorus Siculus*, of the dungeon at *Alba Marforum* in which *Perfes* was imprisoned. Vid. *Photii. Bibliothec. edit. Rotomag.* p. 1156.

‡ See *Livy*, book 34, c. 44. *In inferiorem demissus est carcerem, necatusque.*

§ See *Frenshemius*, book lxvii. c. 19. *Ibi demum loci, sextum in diem cum fame & vitâ luctans spiritus expulsus est.*

|| In this same prison *Sejanus* died; the senate being assembled for his condemnation in the adjoining temple of *Concord*. *Simon Gioras* also. See *Josephus*, b. vii. c. 5.



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sions, to answer *Sallust's* description of the *Tullianum*; and is probably (the floor, walls, and roof being all composed of very large stones) at present exactly in the same state, in which it anciently was.

WRETCHED as that set of villains were, and most deserving of their fate, yet how often, said *Crito's* pupil, has this gloomy cavern confined persons of a *most contrary* character? In the republican times, many foreign generals and patriots, the brave defenders of their country against the *Roman* invasions, have (after undergoing all the bitterness of the triumph) taken their seats on *this* stone bench, in expectation and desire of speedy death. In the lower ages, under *imperial* tyranny, many virtuous *Romans* have sighed against the walls of this vault; and mixed their tears with that cup of their affliction, the spring which rises in the middle of this floor.

*O mon fils, mes amis, qui l'eut pensé jamais  
Que nous habiterions ce séjour des forfaits ?  
Ah sans doute avant nous ces chaînes fêtrissantes  
Ont courbé, sous leur poids, les Vertus gemissantes\*.*

VOL. II.

O

PLACES

\* *Siege de Calais, act 4.*

PLACES and conditions, at which human weakness would most tremble, and human pride most disdain, have often been the scenes of the most amiable and exalted virtues. Not to specify other countries, the two most venerable characters in the *Atbenian* history, *Socrates* and *Phocion*, lived in poverty, and died as malefactors in prison. *Carcer illorum*, a *Seneca* might say, *omni curiâ sanctior*.

BUT look on the inscription on that wall; it says, that this vault was the dungeon even of the *apostle of the Gentiles*, and that to this very pillar were fixed his chains.

THE inscription says, that *St. Peter* also was confined here. I know not what degree of credit is to be given to this tradition; but, however that may be, we are certain that those holy apostles did in some place or other *really* undergo such treatment\*.

BUT let me not trespass on my tutor's province, he can speak on this subject much better; perhaps under his guidance we shall make a second visit to this place, when we are advanced in his course of lectures to the time of *Nero's* reign.

LET

\* See in particular the twelfth and sixteenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

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LET me add this only, my dear friends; surely, surely we ought not to disdain to consider sometimes and commiserate the sufferings *even of malefactors in prison*; since we are assured, both by sacred and profane history, that persons of the HOLIEST CHARACTERS have been contented even to live and die with them there \*.

THESE sentiments of charity expressed by *Crito's* pupil, rose sincerely from his heart. Often while in *London* had he (unknown to any person) visited *Newgate*, alleviating the miseries of some of the felons, and releasing some of the debtors confined there †.

O 2

THIS

\* Our Saviour himself died among malefactors, one of whom reviled him in his last moments; the other, by penitence, obtained a blessing far superior to all the riches and honours of this world.

† The persons whom he released were chiefly those who were committed thither for small debts by the Court of Conscience. He had often been happy in discharging several of these, who were parents of large families, and who for debts of *some few shillings only* were committed prisoners to that dismal place for three long months.

As the Court of Conscience is a *new institution*, perhaps it may not be improper to suggest to well-disposed persons, that here is a *new method of doing good*; very small sums thus disposed, may sometimes save whole families from destruction.

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THIS sincerity of heart added such powerful energy to his expressions, as affected all his audience with an heavenly sympathy. Every heart was melted, every eye swelled with a tear.

FULL of these sentiments they re-ascended the dark and narrow stair-case. They came soon within hearing of the organ in the church, which is built over these dungeons: the young nobleman turned round to *Crito*, and asked him if he knew what festival it was to-day? It is, I believe, replied he, the eleventh of *June*, the festival of the charitable *St. Barnabas* \*.

DAYLIGHT now broke in full upon them. How glorious a spectacle, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, must *that* sun be to persons long confined in the gloom of such dismal dungeons? What occasion is there ever to deprive prisoners of the benefit of the light and air? How inhuman must that government be, which would grudge some little expence in affording them this consolation?

CRITO'S

\* Many have been the happy persons who have literally obeyed our Saviour's words; "Sell whatever thou hast, and give to the poor." *St. Barnabas* is the first recorded by name, who for this purpose sold his landed property. *Acts* iv. from ver. 32, to the end.



CRIſTO's pupil now repeated ſome lines in the beginning of *Samſon Agoniſtes*, and then propoſed to his friends to continue their morning walk (if it would not be too fatiguing) as far as to the other noted priſon of antient *Rome*, the goal of the *Decemvirs*.

●   ●   ●

THE goal of the *Decemvirs* ſtood near the *Forum Olitorium* \*. In that priſon was performed the famous action known by the name of the *Roman* charity. In memory of ſuch an inſtance of filial piety, the ſenate ordered *that* part of the priſon in which it happened to be pulled down, and a temple to be erected on it, named on this account *Templum Pietatis*. The church of *St. Nicolo in Carcere* now ſtands on the ſame ſpot.

THE company arrived there about noon, and finding the church at that hour quite ſolitary, walked about it at their leiſure.

Is it not probable, ſaid the young nobleman, that ſome of *theſe* marble pillars once adorned the temple of *Filial Piety*? I could wiſh that a plan of that temple was now extant. But give me

O 3 leave

\* See Abate *Vanuti's* *Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 33.  
See alſo *Pliny's* hiſtory, book vii. c. 36.

leave to express another more rational wish ; I mean, that our tutor (I hope he will permit me to use that name) would now favour us with some of his sentiments on the excellent action here performed.

I AM much obliged to you for your politeness, replied *Crito* ; but I am not worthy of that title.

I HAVE attended you to this place with very great pleasure ; but I am certain that there is no occasion to trouble you with any of my reflections on the subject of the *Roman* charity ; the history of that action being so very well known, and the noble virtue of it being so very well practised by every one of this company.

GIVE me leave, however, in this place, to congratulate my pupil on the purchase which, by your kind assistance, he has lately made ; I mean, the fine picture of *Guido* on that subject. He purposes to send it soon to *England*. With the greatest pleasure his father will certainly receive it, and place it at the head of his gallery of family pictures ; as a most pleasing mark of his son's goodness, and as a standing lesson and emblem of that filial love, which ought to subsist in all families from generation to generation.



IN this manner ended this morning's conversation. They parted for the remainder of the day. At night the company (meeting at supper at the young nobleman's lodgings) were informed by *Crito's* pupil, in what manner he had passed the afternoon, and first part of the evening.

IT is needless to add, that *Crito* gave his attention with the greatest pleasure to the following account; and by the first post to *England*, made his pupil's parents happy by a full relation of it.

I CAME home, said the young gentleman, this morning from the place of the antient temple of *Filial Piety*, full of the idea of the work of charity there performed. I sat down in my room, opposite to the picture of *Guido*.—Would to God, that the thoughts which then arose in my mind, may always be kept alive in it, and continually encrease in their ardour! In the afternoon I again sat down before the same picture; and in that situation (often casting my eye on that most moving painting) made the following extracts; partly from the Epistles of *Seneca*, and his book *de Beneficiis*; partly from a volume of the Discourses of *Socrates*.

" IT is not easy to conceive how any man can  
 " receive from any of his fellow-creatures greater  
 " benefits, than those which all children receive  
 " from their parents. By their means they begin  
 " their existence, are admitted as spectators of all  
 " the magnificence of the universe, and made par-  
 " takers of all the temporal and eternal bounties of  
 " GOD. Let us endeavour to proportion our  
 " gratitude to such benefits received ! Let us ear-  
 " nestly labour, let us at least sincerely desire, to be  
 " (if possible) of as much benefit to our parents,  
 " as they have been to us ! *Hoc agite, optimi Juve-*  
 " *nes ! Posita sit inter parentes liberosque honesta con-*  
 " *tentio, dederint majora, an acceperint. Quod certa-*  
 " *men tam optabile ? Felices, qui vicerint ! Felices,*  
 " *qui vincentur ! Quid eo fortunatius sene, qui omni-*  
 " *bus ubique prædicabit, a filio suo se beneficiis victum ?*  
 " *Quid eo adolescente præclarius ? Nullâ enim vi ver-*  
 " *borum, nullâ ingenii facultate exprimi potest, quàm*  
 " *laudabile, quamque nunquam à memoriâ hominum ex-*  
 " *itutum, posse hoc dicere ; parentibus meis parui :*  
 " *Cessi : imperio eorum obsequentem, submissumque me*  
 " *præbui : ad hoc unum contumax fui, ne beneficiis*  
 " *vincerer.*

" *Nec desunt tam pulchro certamini duces qui per*  
 " *vestigia sua ire nos cohortentur & jubeant.* Many  
 " sons have defended the old age of their parents  
 " from want and injury ; many have successfully  
 " laboured to crown them with honour, and to  
 " bless



“ bleſs their latter days with great joy, and greater  
 “ hope : many have moſt ardently fronted the  
 “ greateſt dangers to ſave their parents from  
 “ harm ; many have had even the happineſs of re-  
 “ turning life for life. Happy ſons ! But how  
 “ much more happy muſt be their parents ? *Non*  
 “ *enim tantum vivere, quantum a filiis ſuis vitam acci-*  
 “ *pere letabuntur ; Et longè majorem ex animo proliſ,*  
 “ *quàm ex re ipſâ percipient voluptatem.*”

AFTER I had made theſe extracts, I took a ſolitary evening walk to that ſame temple of *Filial Piety*, which we had viſited this morning. Meeting the ſexton in the church, I had an opportunity of ſeeing the ſubterranean chapel under the communion-table ; which chapel was one of the dungeons of the antient priſon.

TWICE, if I am not miſtaken, that pious and charitable action was there performed. Two different *Roman* matrons, at two different times, there nobly incurred the hazard of their own lives, in order to ſave thoſe of their parents. Actions of charity, which, though performed by perſons in private life, and in conditions of indigence and obſcurity, yet were *moſt highly* honoured and rewarded ; the priſoners in each caſe being pardoned, and releaſed for the ſake of the eminent goodneſs of their children.

HAVING

HAVING fully indulged and satiated myself in meditation on the subject of that story, I left the church of *St. Nicolo in Carcere*, and walked to the *Capitol*. I sat down on the terras behind the *Palazzo del Senatore*.

THE view from that terras of the *Roman* forum, and *Via Sacra*, made me recollect some of my tutor's reflections relative to the character of *Metellus Pius*; I recollected at the same time several other *Roman* heroes, whose names are immortalized by their goodness to their parents.

43. NOR could I help reflecting with pleasure that this noble virtue of filial piety, subsisted even in those dismal times, to which in the course of my tutor's lecture we yesterday arrived; I mean the times of the second cursed triumvirate.

IN the midst of all the horrors of cruelty and black perfidy, with which this city was then covered, filial love frequently shone forth with peculiar lustre, *velut erumpente inter nubila vehemētiore sole*.

I REMEMBER what *Velleius Paterculus* says on the occasion; and indeed the instances of fidelity shewn in that time of terror by wives to their husbands, and by servants to their masters, were very

very remarkable\*; yet surely those performed by children to their parents, were not less worthy of commendation.

HAVING

\* It seems not unsuitable to the design of this work, to insert here, in a concise abridged manner, some few of those examples, as copied by *Freshemius* from the writers of antiquity.

*Tanusia* virum suum *T. Vinium* conditum in arcâ in ædē *Iberti Philopæmenis* transfudit, ibique occultavit. Tum per *Octaviam* sororem *Cæsaris*, quæ multis eo tempore salutis fuit, *Cæsari* rem indicavit. Ille impunitatem concessit omnibus; *Philopæmen* in quinque annis æquestris dignitate postea decoravit. — *Lucretium*, *Ligarium*que *Antistium* celaverunt conjuges — *Acilium* uxor redemit à militibus omni suo mundo dato. — *L. Cæsar* à sorore suâ servatur. — *Servorum* summa ergà heros fides erat: *Hirtii* præsertim & *Ventidii*: sed *Panopionis* & *Menenii* servi se percussoribus etiam obtulerunt pro dominis — *Ligariorum* & aliorum fratrum summa erat inter tot terrores caritas.

Perhaps also it may not be improper to insert in this note some abridged extracts from *Appian*, relative to the examples of filial piety; especially considering *Velleius Paterculus*'s strange assertion on that subject.

Ἡν σπῆδῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων περισωζούτων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλά καὶ ΣΥΝΑΠΟΘΝΗΣΚΟΝΤΩΝ.

Ἰγνατίοι, πατήρ καὶ υἱός, συμφύετες ἀλλήλοις, διαμίας πληγῆς ἀπεθάνον, καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετετμήντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἐτι συνεπέπληκτο.

Γέταν ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχωρῇ τῆς οἰκίας ἐδόξε καίειν, καὶ λαδῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνητῷ κατέλιπεν.

Ἀρριανὸς ἐν τῇ σῆλῃ κεκολαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν. “Τοῦ εὐθαδὲ κείμενου υἱὸς ἡ προγραφεὶς προγραφέντα ἐκρύψε”  
“τε καὶ συνεφύγε καὶ περιέσωσε.”

Μετέλλω ἡσ-ην υἱὸς τε καὶ πατήρ. διακρίνονται τῷ Καίσαρι τῆς αἰχμαλωτῆς, ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἡγετο κομῆς τε ἐμπλεῶς καὶ δυνῆς καὶ ῥοπῶς. Ὁ υἱὸς δὲ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τοῦ πατέρα ἀνεθόρεν ἐκ συιεδρίῳ (Καίσαρι γὰρ συνεστράτευετο καὶ συνήδρευεν)

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HAVING in my pocket a small *French* translation of *Appian's* civil wars, I turned to the fourth book, and (the place where I sat being then quite solitary) employed the half hour before sun-set in perusing the happy fate of *Ignatius*, the goodness of *Geta*, of *Adrian*, and of *Metellus*; *Metellus*, worthy to be called by his ancestor's glorious title.

I WAS peculiarly affected with the behaviour of another young man, a near relation to *Cicero*. He was indeed imagined (if I am not mistaken) formerly not to have behaved quite well to his parents; but at the time of the proscription, he nobly atoned for all his former faults. Most carefully did he hide his father from the pursuit and search of the assassins; and most patiently did he himself endure the most cruel torments, even to death, rather than discover him. The father in haste to deliver his son (now how beloved!) from such torture,

—*nec se celare tenebris*

*Amplius, aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem.*

*Me! Me! Adsum qui feci. In me convertite ferrum!*

—*Nibil iste, nec ausus*

*Nec potuit.* —

Τὴν

συνδρευν) και ησπαζετο συν οίμωγῃ. Ουτος μὲν σοι πολέμῳ γεγονεν ὡ Καίσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ συμμαχῶ. αἰτῶ δὲ σε σωζειν του πατερα δι' ἐμε, ἡ δι' ἐκείνον ἐμε συγκατακαίνει. Οἱκτὴ δὲ ἐξ ἀπαντων γενομενῶν μεθήκε σωζεσθαι του Μετῆλλου • Καίσαρ, καίπερ πολέμιωτάτου.



*Tum super exanimem sese projecit amicum  
Confossus, placidâque ibi demum morte quievit.  
Fortunati ambo!*

AT the same time *Oppius*, a very rich senator, a friend (if I am not mistaken) both of *Tully* and *Varro*, received the fatal news that his name too (though he was of the *Cæsarean* party) was inserted in the bloody proscription. Worn down as he was with age and sickness, he intended quietly to submit to his fate, and patiently to expect his murderers; but he could not resist the tender zeal and tears of his son.

THE affecting scene of *Anchises* and *Æneas* was then revived. After much earnest solicitation of the son, and blessings and tears of the father, young *Oppius* appeared with the precious burden of his parent on his shoulders, staggering along the streets of *Rome*, and a-cross the forum.

*Nec me labor iste gravabit :  
Quo res cunque cadent, unum & commune periculum ;  
Una salus ambobus erit.*

O MY dear young friends ! (you, who lately admired even with tears an action of this same kind nobly represented in one of *Raphael's* great works in the *Vatican*) O my dear tutor, (you who have

from my infancy been a tender and really *spiritual* father to me, and have diligently inculcated to me in all our studies, and on all occasions, my duty to my real and dear, most dear parents) tell me, tell me, what ought to have been my sentiments; seated as I then was by the walls and antient pillars of the *Roman Tabularia*, where those bloody proscriptions were fixed; and imagining, that I saw the most excellent young *Oppius* thus traversing the *Forum* before me.

*CRIO*'s pupil now paused for some moments; he then proceeded as follows.

No wonder, that the *Romans*, who deservedly prided themselves in the belief of their descent from the antient pious hero of *Troy*, should be moved with *so striking* a resemblance.

*Atque animum patriæ strinxit pietatis imago,*

No wonder, that they should ardently have protected, and loudly, as well as tenderly, applauded this action. The bloody *Triumvirs* durst not venture to attempt any thing further against the life of such a father, and such a son. Young *Oppius*, even at mid-day, safely traversed the midst of the city; and (after having passed the gates) then, sometimes helping the old man to walk a little, sometimes with tears of joy taking him again on his shoulders, quietly at length

length reached *Ofia*, and there embarked with him for *Sicily* \*.

No wonder, that the *Sicilians* should kindly receive him in their island. They were moved to it, by their respect to *Sextus Pompeius*, the common patron of all the proscribed: they also probably recollected, how much their country too was celebrated for an action of the *same* most moving and most laudable kind. You remember, my dear young friends, that noble story how told in *Seneca* and in *Pliny*. You reminded me of it one day while we were viewing the paintings of the *Farnese* gallery: — *Duo Siculi juvenes, cum Ætna majore vi peragitata in urbes, in agros, in magnam insulæ partem effudisset incendium, vexerunt parentes suos: patrem scilicet alter, alter matrem. Discessisse creditum est ignes;*  
et

\* During the reign of *Augustus*, this same young *Oppius*, being returned to *Rome*, and living there in private and very narrow circumstances, on the day appointed for the election of *Ædiles*, the people (by a sudden resolution) would have him for their *Ædile*; notwithstanding all the objection which he could make to it. As he could by no means then afford to bear the expence of that office, all the companies of the different trades in this vast city, (probably by *Augustus's* voluntary and glad consent) engaged to provide and furnish *gratis* all the shews of the theatre, &c. for him. On the last day of the shews, and on the conclusion of the last play, the whole stage was on a sudden covered with heaps of money, which the numerous spectators in that vast theatre (with the loudest most heart-felt acclamations) showered down on it on all sides, for the benefit of this their dear *Oppius*.  
Εως τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατεπλητίσαν.

Vid. *Appian*, lib. 4.

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*et utrimque flammâ recedente, limitem adaperturn, per quem transcurrerent juvenes dignissimi.*

THE same kind of heavenly protection, which was said by *Virgil* to have been vouchsafed to *Aeneas*, when entering on the same glorious work.

*Descendo : ac ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes  
Expedior : dant tela viam, flammæque recedunt.*

CHAP.



CHAP. VIII.

EIGHTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THIS morning (being *Saturday* the 13th of *June*) the young nobleman proposed to make a visit to the small antique arch near the *Forum Boarium*. The company readily consented; such easiness of temper is indeed an indispensable requisite for the mutual happiness of a set of travellers.

AT this arch the young nobleman passed half an hour, taking a drawing (as well as he could) of some of its battered bas-reliefs: he observed to his young friends, that one of the figures of this bas-relief seemed to be imitated by *Raphael* in his cartoon of the sacrifice at *Lystra*.

WHEN he had finished his drawing, he walked cross the way, to the opposite square fabric, commonly called the arch of *Janus* \*.

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P

I KNOW

\* Un'antica fabrica qui si vede chiamata volgarmente l'arco di Giano; con 12 nicchie per ciascuno dello quattro facciate. Questo monumento e di tale struttura di fabrica composta de smisurati pezzi di marmo Greco congiunti insieme, che e sor pendente Ogni suo angolo e di palmi 102: onde in tutto e di palmi 408.

Venuti, vol. i. p. 5.

I KNOW not, said he, whether this grand building was originally designed as an exchange for the *Roman* merchants, (according to the opinion of most of the antiquarians) or, according to the popular tradition, as a temple of *Janus*. *Donato* is of the latter opinion \*. Perhaps it may have served for both purposes. In relation to its plan, I cannot help thinking, that as, in the other neighbouring temple of *Janus* in the *Argiletum*, *Janus*'s image was so formed as to express by its fingers the number of the days in the year; so perhaps *this* fabric was built with a *similar emblematic design*. Its four fronts may be allusive to the four seasons, and the twelve niches in each front may perhaps have contained the figures of the twelve months.

YOUR conjecture, replied *Crito*, seems to carry some probability. But I should doubt whether the representation of the months was repeated on all the four fronts; perhaps on one of these sides might be placed the statues of the twelve *Dii consentes urbani*; (*Varro* † describes them standing in his

\* *Exstructa sunt templa quadrilatera Jano quadrifronti. Unum hodieque cernimus apud S. Georgii in Foro Boario.*

*Donato, p. 108.*

† *Eorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant: sex mares, & feminae totidem.* *De re rusticâ, lib. i.*

See in relation to this subject, the description of the temple of *Nîmes* given by *Montfaucon* in his journey to Italy.

his time near the *Forum*) and on another, the twelve *rural* gods, whom *Varro* invokes in the beginning of his treatise *de re rusticâ: duodecim deos*, I think those are his words, *qui maximè agricolarum duces sunt*.

Excuse my impertinence, dear sir, said *Crito's* pupil; but you were mentioning to us last night after supper, that the next name in your catalogue of illustrious *Romans* was that of *Varro*. Why may we not be *here* favoured with your lecture on his character? *Janus's* temple is surely no improper place for such a conversation; whether we consider *Janus* in his mythological character, as patron of all the *rural* labours of the year; or whether we endeavour to view him in an historical light, as first founder of this city, many ages before the birth of *Romulus*. *Varro*, in studying the primæval antiquities of *Italy*, must often have had occasion to examine the obscure history of *Janus*.

If, replied *Crito*, my paper on the character of *Varro* had been ready for your perusal, my intention was to have presented it to you, some day when you should be passing by the church of *St. Salvator in Tellure*, at the foot of the *Esquiline* hill. The temple of the *Earth* is supposed by *Montfaucon* to have been situate in that place. *Varro* makes it the scene of one of his dialogues *de re Rusticâ*.

BUT perhaps *this* place might have been more proper. However that may be, I must beg leave to defer for some time the offering you my papers on the subject of *Varro's* life; they are as yet by no means proper for your perusal.

YESTERDAY afternoon I met walking on the terras of *Monte di Trinità* your acquaintance the *French* marquiss with some gentlemen, his countrymen, who were lately returned from *Naples* by way of the convent of *Monte Cassino*. When they did me the honour to join company with me, they were talking of the visit which they had made to that famous abbey; they spoke much of its library, chapel, and other splendid structures. From that subject their conversation wandered to the *antiquities* in the neighbouring town of *Cassino*. Near those ruins, said one of the company, *dans un bassin formé par la retraite de la montagne, fut le lieu, qu' occupoient la maison de campagne, & les jardins du Varron.*

I COULD have wished that their conversation had dwelt on a farther description of the place: but it went off to other topics.

I TOOK leave of the company in about half an hour. On my return to your lodgings, I immediately consulted *Montfaucon* on the subject \*; and then indulged myself in imagining the pleasure, which

\* See *Montfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 22.



which you, with your two worthy friends, will certainly feel, when in your return from *Naples* you shall be passing two or three days at *Cassino*.

You remember, my dear pupil, what *Tully* says of that place, in his second *Philippic*. *Studiorum suorum M. Varro fundum Cassinatem voluit esse diversorium. Quæ in illâ villâ dicebantur? Quæ cogitabantur? Quæ literis mandabantur? Jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis sapientiæ ratio, omnisque doctrina.*

You will recollect this passage with double pleasure, when you shall be walking on the banks of the clear and deep river at *Cassino*. I wish you may be able to trace out the situation of *Varro's* musæum there \*.

BUT on the other hand you will be affected with much concern, when you turn your eyes to the present state of agriculture in that part of the kingdom of *Naples*. In *Varro's* time, *Italy* was in general the best cultivated region of the known world. *Nulla quæ tam tota sit culta* †. *Arboribus confita Italia est, ut tota pomarium videatur.* But how sadly different is its present state? According

P 3

to

\* *Habeo sub oppido Casino flumen, quod per villam fuit liquidum & altum—ubi est musæum. Circum hujus ripas ambulatio sub dio lata pedes denos. De re Rusticâ, lib. 3*

† *De re Rusticâ. lib. i. c. 2.*

to what these *French* gentlemen were saying, the delicious country between *Casino* and *Frusinone*, that rich and fertile territory, which once flourished under *Varro's* eye, lies now almost desolate. Even the fields of *Varro's* farms are now, in part at least, abandoned.

BUT let us defer talking further on this subject, till we see the place. When we are on that spot, we may, *with the utmost propriety, converse on the topic of Varro's character.* In the mean time I may perhaps be able to collect some memorandums relative to it. At present I am by no means prepared to speak on the subject.

ACCORDING to the generally received opinion, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Varro's* life seems to have been (like that of his great contemporaries *Cato* and *Tully*) divided between *literary* and *civil* industry. If I am not mistaken, he was entrusted with one of the principal commands in the piratic war, and by his conduct in that station obtained the very distinguished honour of the *Rostral* crown. He commanded afterwards in *Spain*, in the war between *Pompey* and *Julius Cæsar*. In his senatorial character also, he seems to have been much engaged in several of the great political transactions of his times.

YOUR

YOUR observation is very true, replied *Crito*, but perhaps it may be doubted whether it would not have been better, if (at least during the civil wars) he had totally devoted his industry to the pursuit of literature. *Varro's* campaign in *Spain*, if we may judge of it from the account given in *Cæsar's* Commentaries, does not seem to add any very great splendor to his character. *Varro* seems himself to have been sensible, that a literary life was his more proper element. Immediately (if I remember right) after his *Spanish* campaign, he retired from public employments, and gave up all the remainder of his life to his books.

PARDON me, my dear fellow-students, If I pause some moments to reflect on *Varro's* happiness in that sphere.

IN his old age, as well as in his youth, *Varro* (according to *Erasmus's* expression) *sensit studiorum dulcedinem*. He had received the greatest benefits from them in the first years of his manhood, while at the university of *Athens* \*; and now in his decline of life, he was protected by them in great measure from the miseries of the civil distractions. *Illis tempestatibus prope solus erat in portu. Cum*  
P 4 *libris*

\* *Per omnium honestarum artium cultum Varro pueritiam adolescentiamque transigit. Revocabat eum ab illecebris corruptelarum, & lenociniis cupiditatum, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, studium sapientiæ. Vitrannius Maurus.*

*libris in pristinâ consuetudine permansit; & studiorum consuetudine leniebat dolorem. Ad eam vitam reversus est, quam multi docti homines fortasse non rectè, sed tamen multi, etiam reipublicæ præponendam putaverunt,*

I THINK, said the young nobleman, I remember some of those expressions in *Tully's Epistles*.

THEY are in his epistles to *Varro*, replied *Crito*, in those epistles which were written soon after *Varro's* return from *Spain*. Yesterday afternoon, when I had laid *Monfaucon* aside, I re'd those eight letters: I afterwards employed myself for an hour or two in turning over some leaves of *Varro's* treatises *de Lingua Latinâ & de re Rusticâ*.

I SHOULD think, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, the opinion of those learned men of whom *Tully* speaks, to be a very debateable point. However I shall readily own, that there is something very pleasing in the idea of a studious retirement. The quiet and stillness of *Trinity college* quadrangles at *Cambridge* have often struck me with peculiar pleasure, on my return from *London*, after passing some weeks in diligent attendance in the gallery of the House of Commons. I could wish, as we are now entered on the subject, that you would favour us with some account of *Varro's* literary labours.

I KNOW



I KNOW not whether it will be *ever* in my power, replied *Crito*; but I have not yet consulted several authors, who have written (it is said) some account of them. I wish I may find something in their writings which may deserve your attention while at *Cassino*. But I fear that even then I shall hardly be able to present to you any thing more, than a collection of testimonies from *Tully*, *Quintilian*, *St. Austin*, *Lactantius*, and perhaps some other antients, relative to the high literary character of *Varro* in general. Any thing *more particular* is not perhaps to be expected; for I know not whether we can fairly judge of *Varro's* literary merit from his two treatises, which are now extant; one of them being in the dictionary kind, and very imperfect; the other being composed by him when above fourscore years of age. In relation to his other works, nothing can be said, as they are all long ago perished.

YET let me recollect; there is a reflection which rises from this very circumstance, and which deserves the attention of many *learned* members of the republic of letters: a reflection, which ought to humble the proudest of their hearts.

IN the whole history of the literary world, there cannot easily perhaps be found any *learned* man, whose writings seemed more likely to resist the force of time, than *Varro*. *Varro*, according to the  
universal

universal testimony of the antient authors, was the most *learned* person, that ever existed in the Roman nation. Tully adds, that he was *omnium facile acutissimus*. His long life was assiduouſly employed in publications; he is ſaid to have been author of no leſs than five hundred books \*.

IN the eightieth year of his age, *Varro* began to compile his three books *de re Ruſticâ*. Let us ſuppoſe that we now ſaw him ſetting down in his library to this employment. At that time, what probably were his thoughts?

*Properandum eſt, Si eſt homo, ut dicitur, bulla; eô magis ſenex. Annus octogefimus admonet me, ut ſarcinas colligam, antequam proficiſcar e vitâ.* In relation to his corporeal frame indeed, *Varro* muſt have been ſincerely ſenſible, that it was tottering on the brink of the grave, and muſt ſoon fall into duſt and aſhes. But as to his writings, he might have other thoughts. When he ſurveyed with pleaſure the rolls of his five hundred manuſcripts, ranged perhaps in neat order on the ſhelves of his library, he might flatter himſelf that theſe  
were

\* The word *book* is capable of different ſenſes. Thus *Livy* may be ſaid to have written a book on the *Roman* hiſtory; he may be ſaid alſo to have written one hundred and forty books on that ſubject.

It is in this latter ſenſe that the number of *Varro's* books is to be underſtood. Even when conſidered in this light, his publications muſt have been of an enormous ſize.

were as likely to last for ever, as the compositions of *Tully*, or any other of his contemporary brother authors.

BUT how uncertain are the most promising hopes of the immortality of any literary performance? *Tully's* works now extant, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published: and as to *Varro's* compositions, not one of all that vast number has escaped destruction. They are all, except the fragments of his twenty-four books *de Lingua Latinâ*, long ago totally perished. Scarce even the titles of a tenth part of them are known.

DURING our residence at *Florence*, I employed an hour one morning in studying that obscure and imperfect catalogue of the titles of some of *Varro's* works, which the learned *Vetrannius Maurus* has, seemingly with much difficulty, compiled \*.

#### WHEN

\* From some of those titles, as well as from other accounts, it should seem that several of *Varro's* writings were of the satyric kind. Consequently the loss of his works is to be less lamented. For the same reason we must greatly abate our idea of *Varro's* happiness in his literary labours. Happiness cannot reside in a mind soured with satyric malevolence.

But perhaps this may be a mistake; for in those works of *Varro* which are now extant, no such malevolent spirit appears. On the contrary, they appear to have been written from a very benevolent principle: *ut non solum quoad vivam quid fieri oporteat necessarios meos moneam, sed etiam post mortem.*

WHEN I had finished that catalogue, I took a walk to the Great Duke's gallery. I passed thro' its three long double rows of statues and busts: I passed through its *Tribuna*, without attending to the *chef d'œuvres* of sculpture and painting, which are there collected: I went on to the small room adjoining, in which there is an object overlooked or shunned perhaps by many *dilettanti*, yet certainly very affecting and instructive. You must remember the wax-work of *Caietano Julio*; it most naturally represents the scene of a burying-vault, in which the gradual progress of the dissolution of the human body is exhibited in several small figures. The first corpse is swollen, the second discoloured and spotted, the third full of worms, the last a bare skeleton. Among the skulls and bones which are scattered on the floor, lies a *torn folio volume* with this inscription,

ET OPERA EORUM SEQUUNTUR ILLOS.

\* \* \*

SUCH has been and will be the fate of numberless literary compositions, even of the best kind: the learned authors however may have this great consolation; that, though their works certainly perish, yet their intention in composing them (if good)



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good) will be everlastingly rewarded, like all other works of charity.

BUT to what place, continued *Crito*, addressing himself to the young nobleman, shall we have the honour of attending you during the remainder of this morning? We are now on the road half way to the *Villa Mattei*. Shall we go thither? I should be very glad of your opinion in relation to some pieces of antique sculpture which are there preserved.

SCARCE had *Crito* let fall this hint, when the young nobleman gladly embraced it. He called up his coach, which was waiting at some distance, and told the coachman to drive to the *Villa Mattei* *sul Monte Celio*.

WHILE the company were on the way thither, *Crito's* pupil made some mention of that second edition of the *Academics*, in which dialogue *Varro* is supposed conversing with *Tully* and *Atticus*.

ON the mention of *Atticus's* name, the young nobleman took the opportunity of expressing his regard to his memory. He admired *Atticus's* abilities, judgment, learning, and the purity with which he spoke the best foreign language of his times. He admired also his prudence, his happiness in being acquainted with, and generally esteemed

esteemed by all the great men of his age; his amiable politeness, his constantly living with elegance in high life, yet constantly declining all offices of state, as well as avoiding all party contests.

THESE parts of *Atticus's* character, replied *Crito*, seem indeed very pleasing; but I have often heard you wish, that he had been actuated by a more noble ruling principle. The preservation of *himself* in the most dangerous times, the securing *his own* ease, the promoting (if it might be by safe methods) *his own* dignity, wealth, and rank, these seem to have been the principal objects and works of *Atticus's* wisdom. How must the antient heroes of this city, the *Curii* and *Fabricii*, have despised so very poor and mean-spirited a plan of life?

YET mean and little as *Atticus's* final object was, I shall readily agree with you, that many of his actions were very praise-worthy.

SEVERAL instances of private friendship do great honour to his memory. He was candid; he was beneficent to every party, when lowest; he was very liberal to the exiled and distressed, as well as to their friends and families. Highly amiable indeed is this behaviour, especially when we contrast it with the party rancour and fury of his times; and indeed, though self-preservation might be *Atticus's* most cogent motive to this political as  
well

well as charitable conduct, yet it is very probable, that several sentiments of real humanity and good-nature were joined and mixed with that motive. For, as *Middleton* observes, though *Atticus's* philosophy was incompatible with all affections that did not terminate in himself, yet was he frequently influenced by the goodness of his nature to correct the viciousness of his principle.

THE conversation now turned on the *Epicurean* philosophy. While the company were engaged on that subject, the coach arrived at the gate of the *Villa Mattei*.

IN that villa are five apartments, each containing several valuable antique sculptures. In viewing these, the company gave their chief attention to the statue of *Livia Augusta*; to the bust of *Cicero*, which is in the fourth apartment; and to the heads of *Portia*, daughter of *Cato*, and her husband *Marcus Brutus* in the third.

THE statue of *Livia* is reckoned to be one of the very finest antique figures now extant: the bust of *Tully* is by the *Roman* antiquarians esteemed *il piu bello, e il piu sicuro*: but it was for the sake of seeing the two last mentioned heads, that *Crito* had proposed coming hither this morning.

THE

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THE eldest of the young gentlemen viewed the countenance of *Marcus Brutus* with peculiar reverence and affection.

*CRITO* observed his emotion; and, I wish, dear sir, said he, that you would favour us with your present thoughts. The bust before you seems to have made a very deep impression on your mind.

How can it be otherwise? the young gentleman ardently replied: from the earliest time of my studies at school, the name of *Marcus Brutus* has been dear to me; and shall I, while at *Rome*, be cold on this topic? With earnest impatience have I expected the time, when in the course of your lectures you should bring us to *the glorious character of this patriotic hero*.

BUT let me moderate my impetuosity, and endeavour to speak in a calmer stile.

YESTERDAY afternoon I set myself a kind of a short exercise on the subject: I need not say that I should be glad of your correction of it. My young friends will permit me to read it to you.

SAYING this, the young gentleman took from his pocket-book a paper of notes: he cast his eyes  
on



on it for a moment or two, and then thus addressed himself to *Crito*.

THIS piece of paper contains only some few reflection on the *education* of *Brutus*. I ought to think myself much honoured, if after this paper shall have undergone proper correction, you will condescend to accept it as a kind of introduction to your dissertation on his character.

OFTEN have I heard you observe, that the blessed work of education consists in the union of two noble arts, *the improvement of the abilities of the mind*, and the *far more important cultivation of the goodness of the heart*. Permit me to consider the education of *Brutus* in each of those lights. In the *first* of these great arts he had a *Tully* for his tutor; in the *second* a *Cato*.

IN the *improvement of the faculties of his mind* young *Brutus*, my dear friends, did not neglect the study of poetry, history, or any kinds of polite literature, though his principal application was given to that of oratory. In relation to the particular stile of eloquence in which he excelled, I must refer you to *Tully's* rhetorical works; in several parts of which (as you know better than myself) the praises of young *Brutus* are introduced with great affection and respect. The dialogue *de*

*Claris Oratoribus* is even inscribed with his name. For *Brutus* had indeed acquired a very early fame at the bar, and was by *Tully* looked upon as the probable successor to his glory in that profession: *Brutus* was blessed with excellent parts, attended with equal industry; *in perennibus studiis se continebat*: his eloquence, besides its other merits, was accompanied and enriched, as I just now observed, by much knowledge and learning of various kinds, *uberrimis Athenarum artibus*: it was ennobled by that still higher qualification, which *Tully* describes as most necessary to an orator; (happy if it had been his own case) *Summæ eloquentiæ junxit decus omne virtutis.*

LET me now, dear sir, continued the young gentleman, turning himself again to *Crito*, endeavour to consider those moral philosophic studies, by which *the goodness of Brutus's heart* was cultivated and improved. If you reflect that from his earliest youth he appeared most excellently formed by nature to the virtues of gentleness and goodness, as well as those of generosity, fortitude, ardent patriotism, and a strong desire of always acting rightly and nobly; you cannot avoid thinking, that *Cato* must have been very happy in such a pupil. On the other hand, *Brutus* certainly had much more reason to esteem himself highly fortunate in such a philosophic tutor; a tutor, whose  
precepts

precepts were in several respects excelled by his practice; and who, both by precept and example, must have been greatly assistant to his young scholar though the particular system of moral philosophy (that of the *Platonic* sect) in which *Brutus* was chiefly educated, was not the same with that which *Cato* had himself ardently, and (as you lately observed) unfortunately embraced.

IN closing these short reflections on the education of *Marcus Brutus*, you, dear sir, I am sure, will think one observation to be not improperly added.

HE was far from confining his studious diligence in any science, much less in this of moral philosophy, the most important of them all, merely to the *time* and *places* of his education. During the whole continuance of his life we find *Brutus* still persevering in this most noble kind of industry; in the midst of the greatest public business gladly making this best use of every leisure hour, and for that purpose frequently denying himself the indulgence of all other *meaner* kind of refreshment or rest.

BUT whither have I been carried by the stream of my thoughts on this beloved topic? I have been impertinently talking a very long time to

you on a subject, on which I ought much rather to have been listening to your instructions.

ON the contrary, dear sir, replied *Crito*, let me return you thanks, on my own account, as well as on that of these our two dear friends, for your kindness in communicating to us these reflections. I have indeed myself attempted to draw up some short papers relative to the character of *Marcus Brutus*, but they are very imperfect; some parts of *Brutus's* life, particularly this of his education, I had not sufficiently considered.

There are other parts of it, of which, after much thinking, I knew not what to say. You will readily guess that I mean the ides of *March*. It seems very difficult to pass a proper judgment on that action. You will pardon me therefore, when you are so kind as to look on my papers, if you find in them no mention of that affair. Yet let me not omit, in justice to his memory, one weighty observation. However divided the public opinion may always have been in relation to the nature itself of that action, yet it has been unanimously agreed, that the *intent* of *Brutus* in it was certainly most upright and disinterested; full of the most sincere patriotifm and ardent desire of restoring liberty to his country, which indeed was his only view.

SURELY

• Th  
Vilia M



SURELY, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, we may say of him with still more propriety than was said of his great ancestor whom we just now saw in the first apartment of this villa\*.

*Utcunque ferant ea facta minores  
Vicit amor patriæ.*

WHILE we shudder at the idea of *Marcus Brutus* stabbing his friend and benefactor, it is but justice to remember, that he did it upon the same principles, to which at the breaking out of the civil war he had sacrificed the most just filial resentment, by joining *Pompey*. Without entering into the discussion of such actions, let me join with you in lamenting the fate of those who are thrown into so distracting a scene, where they must not only struggle against general corruption and depravation of manners, but (what is a much greater misfortune) cannot form to themselves any plan of conduct which their own hearts wholly approve, cannot have one virtue but at the expence of another, cannot invariably pursue the noblest of all objects, without sacrificing the tenderest and most amiable sentiments of humanity,

Q 3

THANK

\* The statue of *Junius Brutus* stands in the first room of the *Villa Mattei* near the door. See p. 50. of the first volume.

THANK God, replied *Crito*, those scenes happen very seldom: but let us quit the subject. While I was thinking early this morning in what place I could best converse with you on *Brutus's* character, I recollected that room in the *Spada* palace, where the noble colossus of *Pompey* stands; that colossus, which is with great probability thought to be the identical statue, at whose *basis*,

*Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell\*.*

But it would have been impossible to have conversed in that room on *Brutus's* character, without having our imaginations totally absorbed by that action; that action, from which I should most earnestly wish to *withdraw* your thoughts.

AT the entrance of *this* villa, I endeavoured for the same reason to divert your attention from that noble statue of *Julius Caesar*, which stands in the garden on the outside of the house.

LET

\* *Pompeii statuem contra T. atri ejus regiam marmoream Jani supposuit translatam e Curia, in qua C. Caesar erat occisus.*

*Suetonius, in Aug. cap. 31.*

See *Donato*, p. 29. See also *Abate Venuti*, v. ii. p. 84. *Nosso F. emminio Vacca, che il bel colosso alto xv. palmi. che si ammira nel palazzo Spada rappresentante Pompeo fu ritrovato nel vicolo de' Lentari non molto lontano da questo Teatro, non essendoci ai mezo, che campo di Fiore; potrebbe essere la medesima statua rammentata da Suetonio qua Augusto trasferita.*

LET us fix our minds on *other* parts of *Brutus's* life; there are several which are very pleasing, whether we consider him in his *domestic* (in saying this, *Crito* cast a look of compassionate love on the bust of *Portia*) or his *civil* character.

IN relation to his *civic* character, I have had (several months ago while we were in the *Milanese*) the pleasure of compiling some short papers descriptive of *Brutus's* amiable behaviour during his provincial government of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and also during his residence in *Asia Minor*. In each of those countries he nobly exemplified the practicability of doing much good to the public in the worst of times.

IT was in the midst of the miseries of the civil war (continued *Crito*, sitting down on a chair, and taking out his roll of papers) about the very time when *Cato* was slaying himself in despair at *Utica*, that *Brutus* accepted the provincial government of *Lombardy*, to the great advantage and happiness of that large and populous country. In those times of licence and confusion, the *Roman* provinces suffered if possible still more than usual under the violence and avarice of their governors. In the happy province of *Brutus* alone, no insolence or rapine was then seen in the governor, nor permitted by him in any of his inferior officers. Such

indeed is said to have been the mildness of *Brutus's* gracious administration in *Lombardy*, as fully to make amends to that country even for all her former calamities.

The statue of *Brutus* was erected at *Milan*, most likely in grateful memory of his good government. I mean that brass statue which *Augustus* several years afterwards (probably in the latter and better part of his life) greatly admired, and commanded to be carefully still preserved there; thus generously, though a personal enemy, maintaining the honour of *Brutus*, and applauding the *Milaneſe* for their gratitude to their great benefactor.

I COULD wish, said the young nobleman, that I had made some enquiry among the antiquaries at *Milan* relative to that statue; though most probably it has been lost and melted down long ago, in some of the many devastations and conflagrations which that rich city has suffered. But pray proceed.

THE most amiable and *universally* admired part of *Brutus's* life, said *Crito*, is his conduct in *Asia* during the interval between the death of *Julius Cæſar*, and the the battle of *Philippi*.

HIGHLY,



HIGHLY noble indeed does that scene of provincial government appear, especially if we compare it to the tyrannic oppression of the same country by the luxurious, rapacious, and cruel *Antony*,

*BRUTUS* had been always in possession of the most desirable kind of reputation: he was every where generally esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, and admired by all good men: he was hated by none, not even by his enemies. This universal good name he had deservedly acquired by his extraordinary mildness; mildness never ruffled by any ill-natured passion, nor corrupted and weakened by any voluptuousness and vicious luxury: mildness accompanied with generosity, most disinterested integrity, inviolable uprightness, magnanimous zeal, and inflexible steadiness in whatever he believed just and honest. But all these his virtues shone forth in *Asia* with more even than usual splendor.

For though *Brutus* was then deeply engaged in the midst of his military preparations, both by sea and land, for succouring as soon as possible his distressed countrymen in *Italy*, yet did he give great attention to the affairs of the *Asiatics*.

By

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By a proper combination of justice and mercy, *Brutus* did even then revive in that country the happy memory of those great blessings which the government of *Rutilius* and *Scævola* had conferred on it in former times of peace.

It is true, that, as this was an æra of general confusion, *Asia Minor* was not free from many calamities of war, occasioned particularly by the frenzy of the *Lycians*. But even in the dismal works of war, the goodness and humanity of *Brutus* were indefatigably exerted on every possible occasion: even in the dreadful destruction of the city of *Xanthus*, the mercy of *Brutus* as eminently distinguished itself as that of *Titus* is said to have done in the similar horrors of the siege of *Jerusalem*.

ALL the other provinces of that part of *Asia* found him gracious and merciful to them, even beyond their expectations. He entirely gained their hearts, and fully established the love of his government among them by peace and clemency. At the same time he was for their sakes (in exact imitation of *Scævola*) bravely and justly severe on their *Roman* oppressors. He publicly on this account disgraced and condemned some who were the great assistants and associates of his own party,

and who had borne, even at *Rome*, the highest offices of the state.

MANY indeed and memorable were the acts of justice which *Brutus* was constantly performing throughout the whole of *this* his *Asiatic* expedition: his justice was diligent in dispensing, not only punishments, but rewards also.

IN some instances his conduct was still more exalted, and deserves perhaps a more venerable, certainly a more amiable name even than that of justice itself. His contemporary *Romans* were highly pleased with the punishment of *Theodotus*, the murtherer of *Pompey* the Great. Yet surely, you my dear young friends, will receive far more noble pleasure in recollecting, that *Brutus*, about the very same time, fully pardoned *Gillius*, who had attempted to be *even his* murtherer.

*CRITO* now rose from his chair, and approached the bust of *Brutus* with almost as much respect and regard as was expressed a quarter of an hour ago by the eldest of the young gentlemen. His pupil rose with him, and (melting at the recital of the last-mentioned act of humanity) even embraced the bust, and pressed his lips on the cold marble.

FROM

234 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book III.

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FROM

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FROM *Asia*, continued *Crito*, *Brutus* marched to *Thrace*. In *Thrace* he had some short time before been very serviceable to the *Roman* cause; having, though in the midst of a civil war, generously recovered to the *Romans* their possession of the province of *Sadales*, and suppressed the incursions of the barbarous *Bessi*. From the coasts of *Thrace* he approached now to meet his fate at *Philippi*: he approached with fortitude and cheerfulness, still continuing the most abundant generosity to his soldiers, and love to his friends; but above all things, most earnestly longing to see the end (however fatal to himself) of the miseries of this destructive civil war,

IN the fields of *Philippi*, in both engagements, *Brutus* at the head of some few legions only, bore down every thing before him, and was very near obtaining a total victory. According to *Plutarch*, he performed every thing that was possible for an expert general or a valiant soldier to achieve. But let me not pretend to speak of his military talents, let me rather desire your attention to some of his noble sentiments expressed in two or three lines which I have transcribed from *Plutarch*.

SAYING this, *Crito* placed his roll of papers on that table of inlaid oriental gems, which adorns  
the

the apartment in which this company were then conversing.

Εμβάλων την δεξίαν εκάστω μαλα Φαίδρῳ ἡδεσθαι μὲν εἶπε μεγάλην ἡδοὺν ὅτι τῶν Φιλῶν αὐτὸν ὕδεις εἰψεύσατο·— εἰ αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν νενικηκότων μακαριωτέρου νομιζεῖν, ἔκ' ἔχθρας ἔδε πρῶτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ἀπολιπόντα δοῶν ἀρετῆς, ἢ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ χρημασὶν ἀπολειψαῖν οἱ κειρατηκότες\* ὥς μὴ δοκεῖν ὅτι δίκαιος ἀνδρᾶς ἀδικοί, καὶ κακοὶ χρηστὸς ἀπολεσαντες, ἔ' προσηκόντως ἀρχῆσιν. — Διηθείς δὲ καὶ παρεκαλεσας σῶζειν ἑαυτοὺς, ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπώτερῳ.

THE young gentlemen, one after another, read this extract: the conversation for some minutes dwelt on its contents, and afterwards imperceptibly wandered to other topics. The inlaid work of the table first drew their attention, then the other pieces of furniture in the apartment, particularly the plan of *Constantinople*, which hangs on the wall \*. Looking on that plan they began to talk of their intended travels to the *Levant*.

IF from *Greece* and *Macedon*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, we shall be able to go by land to *Constantinople*, we must I believe necessarily

\* In the third apartment of the *Villa Muttei*, is a very curious inlaid table of oriental gems, the plan of *Constantinople* curiously drawn with a pen, valuable busts of *Brutus* and *Portia* in a groupe, &c. *Keyser's Travels*.

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rily pass by *Philippi*. Probably we shall find some tradition still remaining among the natives, relative to the great battles fought there. Perhaps in the neighbouring marshes or plain, we may be shewn some distinct places, where, from the peasants having plowed up human bones, and many rusty bits of armour, it is conjectured that the army of *Cassius* or of *Brutus* was engaged. Our imagination will supply many other circumstances. On *that* part of the field we shall recollect with ardour the virtues of *Lucilius* and *Messala*. Here, perhaps, shall we say, young *Cato* rushed on the enemy\*;

*I am the son of Marcus Cato ;  
A foe to tyrants, and my country's friend.*

There probably under that rock, by the side of *that* brook, the last hero of the *Roman* republic, *Brutus* expired. Why is not a grove of laurel planted on the spot?

The young nobleman smiled with great good-nature at his friend's patriotic enthusiasm. *Crito's* pupil then repeated several other lines from *Shakespeare*,

\* Αγωναζομεν<sup>Θ</sup> υπε<sup>ρ</sup> της ελευθεριας, και οτε φυγειν οτι λαβειν αξιωτας, αλλα προκαλυμεν<sup>Θ</sup> της πολεμιας, εμπροσθεν αυτου εμφανιζων, συνεξορμων τε της συμμενοντας, ιπισιν, θαυμα της αρετης τοις εναντιοις παρασχων.



*spear*, adding his wishes that this tragedy had not been called *Julius Cæsar*, but had born a more proper, as well as a more honourable title, that of *Brutus*.

*CRITO* in the mean time stood meditating in silence on that idea, which the ardent imagination of the eldest of his young fellow-students had suggested.

FOLLOWING that train of thought, it is true, said he, that we shall all be deeply affected in viewing the place where *Brutus* expired. But unwillingly am I obliged to remind you, that in the midst of the heroisms which adorned his last hours, there appeared in him some very great defects of moral character.

*PLUTARCH* with concern mentions one of them. There were two others, on which I wish I was able to offer you some suitable reflections.

*BRUTUS*, continued *Crito*, resuming his seat, had, as you observed, happily imbibed in his early education, and when arrived to years of maturity, had always firmly held fast the noble doctrine of *Plato* and *Pythagoras* \*, that suicide, on any occasion, was a very mean as well as a very irreligious

\* See *Plato's Phædo*, and *Cicero de Senectute*, p. 73.

gious action. Wearied however by affliction and labour, he himself sunk down to the same dismal and desperate deed. He gave not any reason, (it was impossible to give any) nor made any excuse for this sad action, but only the seeming extremity of his affairs: an excuse which he by no means allowed in the case of *Cato*, whom he had always on this account highly blamed.

THE consideration of the perpetual mutability of all human affairs, is one of the many supports which reason offers against such despair. It is impossible for any person ever to be certain that his condition is really and absolutely desperate. Perhaps at the very time when his circumstances appear to him the most extreme, even then a considerable change of fortune may be drawing near.

IF the stoic *Cato* had in his last studies at *Utica* sufficiently attended to that doctrine in the *Phædon*, which is declarative against suicide, and had prudently retired, as the other senators did, from the untenable post of that *African* city, he would have found in the neighbouring country of *Spain* the power of his patriot friends rising with such strength, as to be able soon after (even without the assistance of *Cato's* name) to reduce *Cæsar* to the greatest extremities.

IF

IF the *Epicurean Cassius* had with-held his furious hand from self-destruction only some few *minutes* longer he would have been made happy with the intelligence of *Brutus's* victory and *Octavius's* defeat. This hasty despair of *Cassius* is indeed strangely contrary to the behaviour of former *Roman* generals, (who in the times of the *greatest* distress thought it their duty, *nunquam desperare de republica*) as well as to his own noble conduct in the *Partbian* war, after the total defeat of the great army of *Crassus*.

IT seems indeed astonishing, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that two such generals as *Cassius* and *Pompey* the Great, should give up their whole cause on the ill success of *one* battle only; though each of them, even after that defeat, still continued in possession of great forces; as well as of a country behind them which was full of resources; larger, and much richer than one half of the present dominions of the vast *Turkish* empire. How different has been the behaviour of the king of *Prussia* in the present war! But pray proceed.

IF *Brutus*, continued *Crito*, had after his discomfiture adhered with proper perseverance to this *Platonic* and truly *Socratic* article of philosophy, I mean the abhorrence of suicide; if he had with patience and fortitude, and proper resignation,

borne the present trouble only till the next morning, he would then have heard that his camp with fourteen thousand soldiers in it was still safe. Pardon my folly my dear friends, for pretending to talk on military affairs, but if I am not much mistaken, some of *Brutus's* land-forces offered to make head under *Messala*, against the *Triumvirs*, even after the death of *Brutus*. However this may be, yet certainly, if *Brutus* had deferred the fatal stroke, and made a retreat, he would soon have been informed of the great victory lately gained by his *naval* forces; a victory which would have made him master of all the neighbouring seas, and (in conjunction with the great *Sicilian* maritime power) would very probably have carried every thing before it, in every part of that important element. But *Brutus* despaired; (how inferior to the heroic christian *Alfred*, when in much lower circumstances of distress!) he despaired: and with him fell, as you observe, the republic of Rome, and the liberty of his country.

BUT it grows late in the morning; had we not better be walking down to your coach at the garden gate?

FROM the porch of the *Villa Mattei* down to its garden gate is a narrow walk, on each side of which are ranged near forty antique funeral urns.

THE



THE company stopt for some minutes to read two or three of the inscriptions on them, when the eldest of the young gentlemen turning round to *Crito*, asked him, what was the *other* unhappy circumstance which attended *Brutus's* dying hour?

HIS sad speech, replied *Crito*, which discovered such unsteadiness, weakness, and despondency of mind. I mean those *Greek* verses, *Ω τλημων*,—which *Brutus* then repeated, and which his friend *Volumnius* was probably ashamed to remember. Totally inconsistent were they with those noble lines which you just now read in the extract from *Plutarch*; they were indeed (to give them their true name) a very false accusation against virtue; an accusation highly shocking in any mouth, but peculiarly unworthy the dying lips of a *Brutus*.

IN relation to this subject, permit me to recollect some passages in a sermon which was preached some time ago in one of the churches of *St. Giuseppe* here at *Rome*. The preacher was comparing the moral lives and characters of the ancient and modern *Romans*: in some points he sharply reprehended his audience for their inferiority to their Pagan ancestors; in other articles he ardently congratulated them on their superior happiness. Towards the close of his discourse, he had occasion to speak of the piety, joy, faith, and hope which

ought to attend and surround a death bed, enlivening and enlightening all its gloom. In contrast to that happy scene, he mentioned this dispirited speech, which in the moment of dejection fell unawares from the lips of *Marcus Brutus*. Then turning round, and fixing his eyes on a picture which hung over one of the altars, "O my dear brethren, said he, what an opportunity is now open to us, for pouring forth, if we were worthy and able, a full stream, a torrent of sacred eloquence! O my dear brethren, every day many thousand Christians die in poor cottages, after having passed a life full of pain, labour, and want: *many, many* of them die in a temper of heart (thank God) infinitely superior to that of the expiring *Brutus*; however highly celebrated for his learning, abilities, and greatness of mind. But it is no wonder: *Brutus* wanted in his last hour that firm support of the cause of virtue, the sure and steadfast hopes of everlasting life; that holy faith and hope, which warms the dying breast of every good Christian; and which has enflamed with celestial ardour, the departing souls of eminently good men.

"LET the freethinker, the partial admirer of the exaggerated idea of heathen virtue, compare this mean speech of *Marcus Brutus*, with the  
" blessed

“ blessed raptures of those happy, thrice happy  
“ servants and saints of the true God.”

SUCH were the sentiments expressed in that *Roman* sermon. Pardon me for troubling you with the recital of them ; but indeed they seemed to me so very apposite to the subject on which we are now talking, that I thought it much better to endeavour to repeat them to you, than to offer you any of my own reflections.

SIMILAR reflections would perhaps have naturally arisen in my mind ; but I should have been far less worthy and able to express them than this *Roman* preacher.

BESIDES I should at present have declined launching out into such meditations. We shall soon have a much more proper opportunity, a much stronger call for them. We shall be soon drawing near the times, when the heroes of Christianity, the primitive martyrs, will begin to appear. Their virtue was strong, was ardent to the last moments ; never in any misfortunes of life, or at their last hour in any pains of death, were they suffered (like *Brutus*) in any manner or degree to fall away. They looked not for the rewards of virtue in this transitory life : they were not disappointed in meeting what is called misfortune

here ; nor in finding it continued to the last moments of their existence in *this* world.

*The world recedes, it disappears ;  
Heav'n opens on their eyes, their ears  
With sounds seraphic ring.*

I FORGET the next line, said *Crito*, and laid his head on one of the stone coffins.

*O grave ! where is thy victory ?  
O death ! where is thy sting ?*

\* \* \*

AFTER the company had been seated some minutes in the coach (the coachman driving home by the same way by which he came, and being now arrived near those ruins which in *Nolli's* map of *Rome* are marked by the name of the *Curia Hostilia* \*) *Crito* turned to the eldest of the young gentlemen ; and is it not something remarkable, said he, that at the battle of *Philippi* there should appear among the principal leaders of the republican party, two persons descended from families remarkably famous for their bravery in the same cause *five hundred years* before ? I mean the two persons

\* See p. 69 of the first volume.



persons of whom you were just now speaking with honour; *Messala*, who was lineally descended from the great *Valerius Publicola*; and *Marcus Brutus*, descended from the family, if not from the person of *Junius Brutus*.

HAPPY families! I am sure you will always esteem them such. Happy, as well as honourable, by being thus faithful in the support of public liberty from its first rise to its last fall.

MAY I always, replied the worthy youth, continue to be of that opinion! But I must own that at present my thoughts were engaged on another subject.

ABOUT a fortnight ago you were lamenting to us the murder of the *Gracchi*. You had then great reason to be shocked with the prospect of the ensuing public miseries; *the very heavy and very long-lived consequences of faction and civil discord*. Through what scenes of calamity indeed have we since passed? *Marius—Sylla—Cæsar—Mark Antony*. I could wish that you would recapitulate to us the whole horrid history.

By no means, answered *Crito*. Your thoughts may be much better engaged. But, if you chuse to dwell for some few moments on that topic, let us

take a *more confined* view of those public miseries; for instance, from the fatal hour when *Julius Cæsar* passed the *Rubicon*, to the battle of *Philippi*. During those nine or ten years, what an *Iliad* of evils have we seen? Civil war has been constantly ravaging some one or more of the *Roman* provinces. May nothing similar ever happen to *Great Britain*! But I cannot help observing, that the civil wars of the *Romans* were now become as extensive, as those conquests were on which they were lately priding themselves,

NOR was the storm ended even by the heavy shower of blood which fell on the field of *Philippi*. Discord raged (with some short intervals of a deceitful calm) for twelve years longer. During those twelve years, not only *Asia* and *Afric*, but even *Italy* itself, felt much distress.

GREAT tracts of its most fertile regions were given up as a prey to the legionary soldiers. With what a melancholy accent did you, my dear pupil, repeat some lines of the *Bucolics*, one evening while we were walking on the beautiful banks of the *Po* near *Cremona*?

*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit ?  
Barbarus hæc segetes ? En quo discordia cives  
Perduxit miseros ! —*

*——! ætercs migrate coloni,*

Other

Chap. VIII. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 249

Other parts of *Italy* during the same twelve years, were laid waste by slaughter and famine.

PERHAPS, said *Crito's* pupil, it was at *this* time that *Horace* petitioned *Apollo* to avert from *Italy*, *bellum lacrymosum, & miseram famem*. May those plagues be always indeed averted from this country; but may they also be averted from that nation which *Horace* mentions in the next verse.

*Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem,  
Pestemque a populo & principe Cæsare in  
Persas atque Britannos  
Vestra motus aget prece.*

Thank God, instead of *Horace's* ill-judged as well as ill-natured wish taking effect, the corn of *England* now feeds great part of *Italy*.

THE *Perusina* *fames* is, I suppose, what you are chiefly alluding to, said the young nobleman. 40.  
When I was at *Perugia*, I was indeed greatly shocked in reading the dismal history of the siege and surrender of that city.

NOT only *Perugia*, answered *Crito*, but many other cities of *Italy*, even *Rome* itself, suffered much misery of the same kind, though in an inferior degree; the supplies of corn, that usually came by sea,

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sea, being cut off. For *the sea also* was for several years the theatre of the bloody tragedy of this civil war.

BESIDES other great mischiefs, the coasts of *Naples* and *Sicily* saw in the sea-fights and shipwrecks of *Octavius's* and *Pompey's* fleets, an image of the calamities of the first *Punic* war. In the  
 36. last engagement off *Messana*, if I remember right, each fleet consisted of above three hundred sail, while near two hundred thousand men stood in arms on the shore.

I COULD wish, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that we had extant a good and impartial account of the life of *Sextus Pompeius*. Great dishonour is indeed cast on his memory by several *Cæsarean* writers; yet some of his actions seem very noble and heroic. But pray, dear sir, inform us, which is the character that *you* would chuse principally to recommend to us in our study of the *Roman* history during those twelve years.

THE character of *Octavia*, replied *Crito*,

IF you please, said the young nobleman, hastily catching at that name, I'll tell the coachman to stop at her portico. We *must* pass by it, or near it, in our way home.

CRITO

*CRITO* gladly consenting, the young nobleman leant out of the coach-window, and told his coachman to drive to the church of St. *Angelo* in *Pescaria*.



*AUGUSTUS Caesar* erected this portico in honour of his sister *Octavia*. About one hundred and ten years afterwards (being damaged by fire) it was repaired by the emperor *Titus*, and again in the following century by the emperor *Severus*; *Severus's* name is still legible on the front of the building. Some stately columns are remaining both in the front and behind it.

THE church of St. *Angelo* in *Pescaria* takes up at present the south-east side of this portico. The remaining space is chiefly occupied by several fishmongers shops.

When the coach stopt here the fish-market was over, and the shops empty: the company consequently were able to survey the place at their leisure, and to converse without interruption. Their conversation turned sometimes on the amiable character of *Octavia*, sometimes on the  
antient

antient plan and ornaments of this stately fabric, which was in *Ovid's* time,

—*Externo marmore dives opus.*

SOME months ago, said the young nobleman, when we made our first tour of these *Roman* antiquities, I listened with earnest attention to our antiquarian in this place. He told me, that this portico \* was antiently ornamented with many of the finest paintings from the *Grecian* schools, as well as with many sculptures of the hand of *Phidias*, *Polycles*, and *Praxiteles*. The idea of this portico thus richly adorned, gave me *then* great pleasure. Here, I imagined, stood the *Venus* of *Phidias*; there, before that column, the *Thespian Cupid*. Such were the ideas with which my mind was *then* filled: but since the progress we have made in our present course of *Roman* Conversations, I begin to have *other* thoughts. I am by your assistance, every day learning to consider these great *Roman* objects with the eyes of a philosopher, or patriot, rather than with those of a mere artist.

IF

\* See Abate *Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii. page 89. See also *Denato*, p. 98. and *Pliny*, lib. xxxvi. c. 5. and *Montfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 19.



IF it had been in my power to restore this antient fabric to its former splendor by a wish, I should certainly *then* have been very glad to see the *Venus*, the *Juno*, and the figures of the other heathen deities, which stood within these walls, restored to their antient places. But as exquisite as their sculpture might be, I know not whether, *in my present disposition of mind*, I should not rather wish, that their places were filled by the statues, however moderately executed, of some *Roman* female characters, which once really existed, and were truly meritorious; such as *Herfilia*, *Veturia*, *Volumnia*, *Valeria* *Busa*, the two matrons of the *Roman* charity, and *Portia* the wife of *Brutus*. The whole portico might be appropriated to *female merit*. *Octavia's* statue would have deserved the principal place.

*Prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes.*

*Prima bonis animi conspiciere tui.*

On the basis of her statue some of her amiable actions might have been represented in bas-relief. But let me not pretend to talk on the subject. I know very little of the *Roman* history; nor should have ventured to mention the name of *Octavia* at all, if I had not been charmed with her most lovely character, as delineated in the lately published Dialogues of the Dead. That new pamphlet

pamphlet fortunately came in our last packet from *London*.

WHEN we were making our first tour of these *Roman* antiquities, said *Crito*, no person in this company, except my pupil, knew of the work in which I was engaged, I mean the compilation of these *Roman* characters. After visiting this portico, I employed myself then for some days in collecting several particulars of *Octavia's* life. But reflecting that my pupil was able to describe these particulars in a much more agreeable manner than myself, I gave him my paper of memorandums, and desired him to try his poetic genius on the subject. In a week he brought me a copy of *English* verses, in which indeed were most amiably described the virtues as well as the beauties of *Octavia*: *Octavia's* ready charity to the distressed in the times of the proscription; her earnest desire of being afterwards the instrument of public peace and concord; her patient kindness to her unworthy husband, and love to the children which he had by those vile women *Fulvia* and *Cleopatra*; and lastly, *Octavia's* most overflowing maternal love to her own good son *Marcellus*, as well as to the rest of her dear young family. I could wish that you would persuade my pupil to communicate this charming copy of verses to you. He composed  
several

several verses of it (as he told me) in this portico, and the rest in the *Aldrobandine* gardens \*.

THE two young gentlemen now earnestly desired *Crito's* pupil to favour them with the sight of those verses; but could not prevail, he saying with truth that he had no copy of them.

THE case was this. In composing those verses, his thoughts had often wandered to a young lady † in *England*; the beauties of her face and mind he had mixed in this poem with those of *Octavia*, in the same manner as *Rubens* is said to have drawn one of the Graces partly from his own wife.

WHEN he had finished this short poem, (it was a kind of ode drawn up in the manner of that second chorus which *Mr. Pope* designed for the tragedy of *Brutus*) he prefixed to it some verses in another metre, as a dedication of it to that dear

\* The villa *Aldrobandina* is near the church of *St. Dominico*, on *Monte Quirinale*. Its noble buildings and charming gardens claim the preference of most. Its greatest rarity is a summer-house, where is an old fresco painting, which, according to *Frid. Zuccaro*, was dug up in 1607 in *Monte Esquilino*, near the place supposed to have been antiently the garden of *Mæcenat*. It is an elegant piece, and represents a *Roman* wedding, &c. *Keysser's Travels*.

† See the conclusion of the thirteenth day's conversation.

dear young lady. He then sent the *only* copy he had of it to her. He had often heard her admire *Octavia's* character in *Shakeſpear's Antony and Cleopatra*, and was therefore in hopes that ſhe would kindly receive on ſuch a ſubject a poetic love-letter from him.

*CRITO* having hinted this love-affair to the eldeſt of the young gentlemen, the converſation now became very chearful and gay. *Crito* himſelf partook, and greatly contributed to encrease its gaiety. He rejoiced in the thoughts of his pupil's marriage, almoſt as much as a father could do in that of his beloved ſon. In this converſation the minutes flew away with unperceived rapidity, till by the ſtriking of the neighbouring church-clock, they were reminded that it was high time to return to their lodgings.

IN their way thither they paſſed by *Monte Citorio*, under the pavement of which, *ſeventy feet deep*, lies buried *Statilius Taurus's* amphitheatre \*.

THEY dined at the young nobleman's apartments. At dinner the converſation turned on the battle of *Actium*, and the conqueſt of *Egypt*. The  
young

\* *Statilius Taurus* was commander in chief of *Augustus's* land-forces at the time of the battle of *Actium*. He built this amphitheatre in the following year.



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young nobleman produced from his cabinet (as soon as the cloth was taken off the table) several intaglias, cameos, and other pieces of *verrà* relative to *Cleopatra*. *Crito's* pupil entertained the company afterwards with the adventures of *Marcus* and *Barbula* \*.

IN the afternoon the young gentlemen, according to appointment, went with the *French* marquiss to see the *Colonna* palace, and passed an hour with great pleasure in its noble gallery. They had often seen it before, but were very glad of this opportunity of attending their *Parisian* friend thither.

THE breadth of that gallery is about thirty-eight feet, its length near two hundred and fifty, not including the elevated part at the upper end, which makes an addition of about twenty more. Its height is proportionably noble.

ITS pavement is of *Sicilian* jasper, and other rich marbles. Its walls are adorned with many large and *capital* paintings.

To those pictures the *French* and *English* noblemen gave their chief attention; they frequently however, with the rest of the company, looked up

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to

\* See *Appian*, lib. 4.

to the painting with which the whole cieling is covered, and which represents the sea-fight of *Lepanto*.

IT is remarkable that this great naval engagement happened nearly in the same part of the *Ionian* gulph as the battle of *Actium*.

A PRINCE of the *Colonna* family commanded the *Roman* part of the combined Christian fleet. On the other side came on the Great *Turk*,

*Victor ab auroræ populis, & littore rubro ;*  
*Ægyptum, viresque Orientis, & ultima secum*  
*Bactra vebens.*



WHILE the young gentlemen were thus agreeably amused, *Crito* was at home enjoying a much more exalted, and in all respects a far superior happiness. Saturday afternoon and evening he generally reserved free from all common business or study; considering those hours as a proper time of preparation for the devotions of the following day. But on *this Saturday* evening he had the felicity of experiencing in a peculiar manner the benefit of that pious practice.

FULL

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FULL of joy, love, and gratitude, for the numberless unmerited blessings daily poured down upon him from heaven, he was in his closet on his knees endeavouring to offer thanks and praise for them.

WHILE he was in that humble posture, it occurred to his mind that on this day he had finished the third part of his intended course of lectures. How contemptible soever these his labours might *very justly* appear in the sight of men of genius and learning, yet he thought he had great reason to be thankful that neither himself nor his young fellow travellers, had been passing their time *in a worse manner*, viciously or idly. He might perhaps have employed his time at *Rome much better*. But imperfect as all his designs and works were, yet he thought that he ought with all humility to be thankful for what had been good in them, how small soever that good was.

*In conspectu misericordiæ Tuæ cum odore suavitatis ascendat !*

SUCH were Crito's devotions on *Saturday* night. But on *Sunday* evening his piety was much more fervent. Thinking on the fourth, the far more important part of his work, he prostrated himself on the floor ; *he wept*, he prayed with earnestness,

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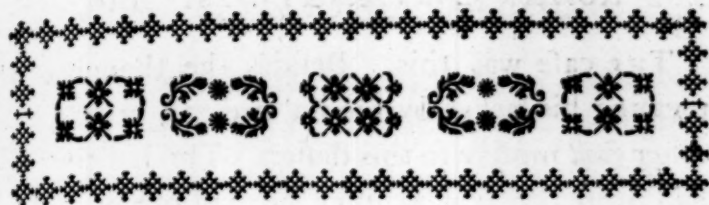
that

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that he might be duly *directed* in the execution of it; that his weak mind might be endued with a strength in some degree suitable to such an undertaking; and above all, (alas! alas!) that his most unutterable unworthiness for so sacred an employment might be most MERCIFULLY pardoned.

ROMAN





## ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.

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### BOOK IV.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### NINETEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

MONG the pictures which I have bought for my father in *Italy*, said the young nobleman, (as he was walking in the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti*, with his beloved *English* friends on *Monday, June 15*) I have not yet had the good fortune to procure above two or three small landskips. I am thinking to supply this deficiency by desiring our ingenious friend the *Irish* painter to employ part of this summer in drawing some views of the romantic environs of *Frescati, Albano, Tivoli, and Nemi*.

IN speaking these words the young nobleman felt at his heart a pleasure, which no profusion of expence in mere *vertù* ever afforded.

THE case was this. Besides the thoughts of pleasing his father by such a present, he had another *good* motive to this design. The last time he had seen the *Irish* painter he had observed that he looked very pale and faint; the heats of *Rome* having, in his present weak state of convalescency, almost overcome him. The worthy noble youth imagined that some cool country air would be the best kind of medicinal cordial for such an indisposition. With this purpose he contrived the commission for the landskips; and that very afternoon intended sending his *Roman valet de place* to hire some proper lodgings for the young *Irishman* at *Gensano*, a remarkably pleasant village (anciently called *Cynthianum*) near the lake of *Nemi*, about sixteen miles distant from *Rome*. It was proposed that the painter should stay there about three weeks or a month, and then remove for about the same space of time to *Albano*. He was to leave *Albano* about the latter end of *August*, and to pass the whole months of *September* and *October* at *Frescati* and *Tivoli*, those country towns being very wholesome in the autumn; at which season *Gensano* becomes usually damp and aguish.

IN talking further on this subject, *Crito* (who was made quite happy with this fresh instance of the young nobleman's benevolence) desired to accompany, that was his humble expression, the *Roman valet de place* to *Gensano*.

YOUR

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YOUR servant, said he, shall come back to you to-morrow morning with some news relative to the lodgings : but I must desire you not to expect me 'till *Friday* next. I should be very glad to make (according to the *Italian* expression) a *retreat* in that charming village for two or three days. The present sultriness of the weather, joined to the ideas suggested by *these* beautiful landskips, makes me long for some quiet country retirement \*.

IN such weather as this, replied *Crito's* pupil, even an hermit's grove or cavern would not be a disagreeable habitation.

*O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi  
Sistat, & ingenti ramorum protegat umbra ?*

THE young nobleman observed that there is something peculiarly pleasing during the heats of summer, in the ornaments of this church. These fine marble columns, intermingled with the verdant shades of this sylvan scenery, breathe a

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very

\* The walls of the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti* are covered with noble landskips, the works of *Poussin* and other celebrated masters.

In these large rural paintings the histories of some hermits are introduced ; but those human figures bear so small a proportion to the size of the trees, rocks, lakes and streams, that on entering the church it seems to be furnished with mere representations only of rural nature, and of its vegetable or animal productions.

very refreshing coolness. Does not the whole structure seem to be designed as a kind of rich rural temple?

IN some respects, *Crito* replied after some pause, this fabric may be considered as a temple peculiarly adapted to solemn meditations on *natural* religion. These rural representations are indeed uncommon, but in some degree they seem to be not unsuitable ornaments for a place dedicated to the adoration of the Great CREATOR,

PROPER paintings certainly, as well as proper musick, may sometimes have very great and good effects on a tender devout mind: but the effects will be still greater and better, where painting and musick can both operate together.—How happy should we be to hear the *Benedicite Domino omnia opera ejus*, or the 103d psalm, now chaunted to the organ in this church?

*Ascendunt montes, & descendunt campi,  
In locum; quem fundasti eis.—  
Quàm magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine!  
Omnia in sapientiâ fecisti.*

DURING the chaunt of those hymns, you, my dear pupil, would often turn your eyes to the beautiful and majestic works of the creation, which are represented on these walls.

PER-



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PERHAPS for some moments you would imagine yourself with *Adam* in his terrestrial Paradise.

*About me round I saw  
Hills, dales, and shady woods, and sunny plains,  
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams.—  
Ye hills and dales, ye rivers, woods and plains,  
Tell me how I may know him, how adore,  
From whom I have that thus I move and live.—*

THE young nobleman now fixed his eyes in silence for some moments on one of *Poussin's* landscapes: he then turned round towards the altar; and (the church being at that time totally empty of all other company) he sung in a low but manly voice, a favourite air from *Metastasio's* *Passion Oratorio*.

*Dovunque il guardo giro,  
Immenso Dio, ti vedo.  
Nell' opre tue t'ammiro,  
Ti riconosco in me.*

*La terra, il mar, le sfere,  
Parlan del tuo potere:  
Tu sei per tutto; E noi  
Tutti viviamo in te.*

• • •

THE

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THE company now retired from the church, and walked to their lodgings.

ON the way *Crito* renewed his request to his pupil, and to the other young gentlemen, that they would permit him to make an excursion to *Gensano*.

THEY all knew how much he sometimes enjoyed his studies in a rural solitude, and therefore gladly consented to his proposal.

HOWEVER, said the young nobleman, we will not suffer the charms of the country to keep you too long from us. We will come and make you a visit at *Gensano* on *Friday* morning. We will bring our landscape painter in the coach with us, and take you back.

EVERY thing being thus settled, *Crito* went out of town immediately after dinner : he went in his pupil's chaise, and arrived at *Gensano* before it was quite dark.



As soon as he was gone, the young nobleman proposed to his two friends, that, in respect to *Crito*, (and indeed in consequence of an hint which he dropt to-day at table) they should, during

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during his absence, prepare themselves for his next lectures, by studying separately the history of *Augustus's* reign.

YOU, dear sir, said he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, will be able to employ two or three days very agreeably in the contemplation of the *sciences*, as well as of the *belles lettres*, which flourished here in that peaceful age.

YOU, my worthy patriotic friend, will have business enough in unravelling the *civil* government of the first *Roman* emperor, and the great *political* events and consequences of his reign.

THE more trifling amusement, that of the consideration of the *fine arts*, which then adorned *Rome*, will fall to my share.

ON *Thursday*, if you please, we will meet at breakfast, and confer notes.



ON *Thursday* morning very early (for the heat of the *Roman* climate naturally inclines most persons to early rising) *Crito's* pupil was visited by his two friends.

WHILE

WHILE they were drinking a dish of chocolate together, he asked them several questions relative to the politics and *vertù* of *Augustus's* court. He received from their answers much instruction and pleasure.

When the chocolate was removed, the young nobleman took up an *Horace*, which lay on the fettee; and addressing himself to *Crito's* pupil, I could wish, said he, that some properly qualified *English* traveller would, during his making the tour of *Italy*, amuse himself with executing that design which I remember to have heard you propose.

I MEAN, the collection of proper materials for a new edition of *Horace's Odes*, accompanied with a traveller's notes. Several illustrations might doubtless be with much ease and pleasure collected from a view of the face of this country, from an experience of its climate, and an observation of the customs and manners of its inhabitants: illustrations, never perhaps to be expected from the labour or genius of any of our *tramontane literati*, who have not had the happiness of seeing these southern parts of *Europe*.

I HAVE been thinking that such an edition might be very properly adorned; not only (as you proposed) with some neatly engraved maps of the  
Cam-



*Campagna di Roma*, and other parts of modern Italy; but also with some small landskips, placed as head or tail-pieces to several of the Odes.

LET me give one instance only of what I mean. The Odes which are descriptive of the environs of *Tibur* might be very pleasingly illuminated by some views in miniature of the real country near *Tivoli*, and the present remains of *Mæcenas's* stately villa there.

I AM sure, when we were at *Tivoli*, viewing its thick woods of olives, the romantic figure of its hills, and the several beautiful streams which descend in picturesque cascades down their sides, through those fields, which once were covered with the pompous gardens of *Mæcenas* or *Plancus*; we could not help recollecting several expressions in *Horace*, which seemed very apposite, such as

—*præceps Anio & Tiburni lucus, & uda  
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.*

THE young nobleman now opened the *Horace*, and read to the company several stanzas in two or three different Odes: he finished with some lines of the xviith Ode in the first book.

*Velex*

*Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem*

*Mutat Lyceo Faunus —*

*— fistulâ*

*Valles, & Usticæ cubantis*

*Lævia personuere saxa.*

IT would have been fortunate, said *Crito's* pupil, if when we were at *Tivoli* we had thought of extending our excursion to the *Ustican* valley. *Horace's* small, but elegant farm-house, was most probably situate among the *Sabine* mountains, about ten miles above *Tivoli*. His river *Digentia* is, as I have heard, now called the *Licenza*; and his neighbouring market-towns, *Mandela* and *Varia*, known by the half-corrupted names of *Bardela* and *Vico Varo*. What pleasure would it have afforded us, if we could with any degree of probability, have traced out the spot of his *ferme ornée*?

*HORACE*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, though he kept the highest company, yet loved a middle station in life, and knew its value. This seems to you (I am sure) to have been one of the most amiable features in his character.

By the joint favour of the prince and minister, *Horace* doubtless might have accumulated a much larger fortune, and risen to some very considerable office

office in publick life: but he had viewed things with too piercing an eye.

*Cur valle permutem Sabinâ  
Divitias operosiores?*

I REMEMBER your good tutor making some excellent reflections on this subject some years ago, before we left *England*. It was on that day, when we went to see the poor *porch house* at *Chertsey*, which was in the last century the humble scene of *Cowley's* retirement.

AMONG other observations, I remember he then took notice, that, though *Horace* was far inferior to *Cowley* in his general moral character, (as far inferior in that, as he was superior in respect of his poetic abilities) yet still their turns of mind were in some respects very similar; the *language of their hearts* was on some topicks almost equally amiable.

YOUR good tutor then dwelt with pleasure on the moderation, and other amiable qualities of *Horace*: how much soever, said he, we ought to abhor his vices, yet surely we ought to express due respect to these his virtues.

SUCH were at that time some of your good tutor's sentiments. But *à propos*; our noble young friend

friend would be glad if you would go with us this morning to see the place of *Mæcena's* gardens; those gardens we mean, which belonged to his house in town, and to which *Augustus* frequently loved to retire, whenever a fit of sickness prevented him continuing his application to publick business.

I SHALL be very glad of the pleasure of attending you thither, replied *Crito's* pupil. For, if I am not mistaken, *Virgil's* house was built close adjoining to those gardens of *Mæcenas*.

*CRITO's* pupil now arose from his chair and took from the shelf in his closet the first volume of *Doddsley's* miscellany poems: he turned to the ruins of Rome, written by the author of *Grongar-hill*, and read to his friends the following lines.

*Suffice it now th' Esquilian mount to reach  
With weary wing; and seek the sacred rests  
Of Virgil's humble tenement: a low  
Plain wall remains; a little sun-gilt heap  
Grotesque and wild: the gourd and olive brown  
Weave the light roof; the gourd and olive fan  
Their am'rous foliage, mingling with the vine,  
Who drops her purple clusters thro' the green.—  
Here oft the meek good man, the lofty bard  
Fram'd the celestial song; or social walk'd  
With Horace and the ruler of the world.  
Happy Augustus!—*

BUT



BUT let me not trouble you with any more of these lines. Your coach is at the door. I wish your *Roman* servant (he is a tolerable antiquarian) may be able to conduct us to that spot of *Virgil's* tenement.

\* \* \*

WHILE the company were in the coach, their conversation dwelt on the characters of the two great poets of the *Augustan* age: *Crito's* pupil remarked with visible pleasure, that *Virgil* was at least as remarkable as *Horace* for the love of philosophy, poetry, and rural life.

WHEN they came to the *Esquiline* hill they found themselves much puzzled as to the situation of *Mæcenas's* gardens. *Montfaucon*, with many other antiquarians, places those gardens between the church of *Santa Martina Dei Monti*, and the *Aggere Tarquinio*: *Abate Venuti*, perhaps with more probability, thinks they were situate near the church of *St. Pietro ad Vincula*, on the spot which was afterwards in great part covered with the vast fabrick of *Titus's* baths.

IF we cannot with any certitude, said *Crito's* pupil, fix on the situation of *Mæcenas's* gardens, I am afraid we stand much less chance of being able to discover the place of *Virgil's* house. Yet

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certainly there is some tradition kept up at *Rome* in relation to it. I think I remember our seeing in a manuscript at the *Collegio Romano* some account of *an altar to the Muses*, which was dug up from among its ruins.

IT would be some satisfaction, said the young nobleman, if we knew in what musæum that altar was preserved. We would willingly attend you this morning to the furthest part of *Rome*, on purpose that *you* might have the pleasure of seeing it. You would, I am sure, *in imagination*, pour some libations on it.

BUT as we are totally ignorant what is become of that altar to the muses, let us in some manner supply the deficiency by making a visit this morning to the ruins of the temple of the *Palatine Apollo*. We are not at present far distant from them; and it is as yet very early in the day.



IN the large and romantic gardens of the *English* college, on the southern summit of the *Palatine* hill, stands a group of *stately* ruins intermingled with several small groves of tall cypresses. It is by far the greatest work of antiquity which is now to be seen on any part of that hill.

ACCORD.

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ACCORDING to the common tradition, these are the remains of the famous *temple* and *library* of the *Palatine Apollo*. *Marliano* confirms this tradition. But other antiquarians are of opinion, that they seem rather to be the ruins of that *Hemicycleium*, in which were performed the musical games in honour of the same poetic deity.

THE young reader of these papers, whose lively imagination is frequently enraptur'd with poetic enthusiasm, whose genius breathes fire, such a reader is desired to think what would be his ideas, while ascending to the seat of the *Palatine Apollo*.

LET him imagine, that the ideas of his three young countrymen were of a nature somewhat similar.

THEY ascended the hill, and for some time continued to indulge their thoughts in all the luxuriancy of poetic fancy. They would however have been soon satiated with this delicious entertainment, even with this nectar and ambrosia, if *Crito's* pupil had not kept up their appetite by taking out his pocket *Virgil*, and reading to them for about half an hour some of their favourite passages.

THE passages, with which he concluded, were the descriptions of the temples of *Apollo* at *Cuma*

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and *Delos*, in the sixth and third book of the *Æneid*. He closed the volume as soon as he had read the following verses :

—tremere omnia visa repente  
*Liminaque laurusque Dei, totusque moveri*  
*Mons circum, & mugire adytis cortina reclusis.*

HE closed the book ; he suddenly rose from the mossy bricks on which he was sitting ; he took two or three short turns by himself in the cypress walk, sometimes looking up in silent contemplation to the ruins of the adjoining temple and *Hemicyclium*, the tops of which appeared to peculiar advantage among the waving heads of the cypresses ; sometimes looking down into the vast vaults and subterranean arches ; which, where the ground has given way, discover themselves to a great depth.

Is it not very probable, said he, turning to his companion, that *Milton*, during his stay at *Rome*, frequently ascended this hill ?

PERHAPS he composed part of his *Penseroso* here.—O that I could now in his stile invoke the *unseen genius* of this place to *breathe* to us some *sweet music*.

*Above, around, or underneath !*

But



But no genius of this cypress grove will deign to listen to *my* invocation ; no sound of the harp of *Apollo* will answer me from any of the deep recesses of these ruins.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen benevolently smiled at this poetic enthusiasm. I think, said he, my dear friend, you are as much affected with the memory of *Virgil* here, as you were last autumn, when we were rowing in a boat around the lake of *Mantua*, and down the river *Mincio* \*. You will long remember that delightful voyage.

— *Tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat  
Mincius, & glaucâ prætexit arundine ripas.*

I WISH, said the young nobleman, that we were at present in such a cool situation. The heat of the sun, reflected from these ruins, begins to grow intolerable. I am unwilling to quit this temple ; but suppose we were to adjourn for the remainder of this morning across the *Tiber* to some of the shady apartments in the *Vatican* palace. They are the coolest places which we can find in *Rome* : besides, if I am not mistaken, we shall see in them some things relative to the subject of our present conversation.

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THE

\* *A deux milles de Mantoue est le village d'Andes, patrie de Virgile : on le nomme aujourd'hui Pietola. Les Ducs de Mantoue y avoient fait bâtir la Virgiliana : belle maison de plaisance ; qui a été détruite dans la guerre de 1701. Voyage de RICHARD.*

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THE young gentlemen agreed to this proposal; they walked down the hill to the coach; and getting into it, told the coachman to drive to the *Vatican*.

IN about half an hour they arrived there. The first room they entered was the library. The young nobleman led them immediately to that painting which represents *Virgil* and *Horace* in conversation with *Augustus* \*.

HE then turned round to the librarian, and desired to be favoured with the sight of the famous manuscript of *Virgil*.

THIS manuscript is supposed to have been written in the fourth or fifth century. The young gentlemen passed some time very agreeably in examining its characters, and historical pictures: but

\* See Abbé RICHARD's Description of the ornaments of the *Vatican Library*. *A gauche on a donné dans différens tableaux une idée des plus anciennes collections des livres. — Le sixième représente Ptolémée Philadelphie accompagné de Demetrius Phalere, son Bibliothécaire, & d'Aristée, qui arrangent la fameuse Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie. Dans le septième on voit Auguste entre Virgile & Horace se promenant dans la bibliothèque, qu'il avoit formée sur le Mont Palatin, où il avoit fait placer la statue de Varron.* tom. v. p. 386.  
*Questa pittura è d'una mano imitatrice del Baroccio l'inscrizione dice Augustus Cæsar, Palatinâ Bib'iothecâ magnificè ornatâ. viro: literario fovit. TAJA Descrittione del Palazzo Vaticano,*

but they thought *Bartoli* had done more than ample justice to them in his copper-plates.

FROM the *Vatican* library the company went up stairs into the open galleries, called the *Bible of Raphael*; and from thence proceeded to the *Stanza della Segnatura*.

THAT apartment is as it were a noble temple dedicated to the *principal* sciences, of which the human mind is capable; theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and poetry. The cieling is adorned with four figures representing these four sciences: under each of which the walls are entirely covered with large pictures correspondent to the same subjects; all by the hand of *Raphael*. The first on entering the room is that sweet introduction to all sciences, mount *Parnassus*.

IN this picture, after some search, they found the beautiful, though retired, figure of *Virgil*, close by the *Muses*, on the summit of the mount; followed by the principal poets of modern *Italy*; but himself modestly giving place to the majestic *Homer*, to whose song *Clio* is listening, and *Apollo* himself attuning his lyre.

IT is remarkable, that *Raphael* (who, by the flowery *Italian* historians, is said to have lived among all the arts and sciences on mount *Parnassus*)

*fus*) has here represented *his own* figure closely attendant on that of *Virgil*. This circumstance was the occasion, that the conversation now turned on the similitude and (to use *Plutarch's* phrase) the *parallelism* of these two great characters in the *sister* arts.

THE young nobleman took this opportunity to inform the company, that he had been lately favoured with a copy of a life of *Raphael*; drawn up by an *English* gentleman \*, resident at *Rome*; a gentleman from whom himself and all the company had received continual obligations since their arrival here; and who, as they very well knew, was fully a master of that noble subject. It is needless to add, that they were very desirous to hear it, and the young nobleman as willing to read it to them. They sat down near the great picture of the schools of *Athens*, and gave their most willing attention to the following paper,

## RAPHAEL D'URBIN.

THERE is scarce a more pleasing and noble object (especially to all real philanthropists) than to see a person come into the world blessed with a favourable disposition and genius by nature, and

\* *Mr. Jenkins.*



and to find also every circumstance of his life concur for the bringing to perfection what she has so kindly given \*.

*RAPHAEL d'URBINO* seems to have been as strong an example of this felicity, as is to be met with in the history of any age or nation. He was doubtless born with a most uncommon genius; but was also at least equally fortunate in the first and principal blessing in life, that is, in having the best of fathers : a father, who was most deeply convinced that the prosperity of his son totally depended on his good education, and who gave the most constant attention worthily to execute that great work of a parent's life. For this purpose we see him beginning his care of his child even from the first day of his birth, having a regard to the breast that was to nourish him, which  
he

\* Περι δε της αγωγης και δη λεκτερον. Καθολου μιν ειπειν ο κατα των τεχνων κη των επιστημων λεγειν ειωθαμεν, ταυτον κη κατα της αρετης φαιον ειν· ως εις την παντελη δικαιοπραγιαν τρια διεισιν εινδραμεν, φυσιν κη λογον κη εθος· καλω δε λογον μιν, την μαθησιν, εθος δε, την ασκησιν· εισι δε αι μιν αρχαι, της μαθησεως, αι δε χρησεις, της μελετης· αι δε ακροτητες, παυτων· καθ' ο δ' αν λειφθη τι τωτων, κατα τωτ' αναγκη χωλην γινεσθαι την αρετην. Η μιν γαρ φυσις ανη μαθησεως, τυφλος· η δε μαθησις διχα φυσεως ελλιπεις η δε ασκησις χωρις αμφοιν, ατελης. Ωσπερ δε επι της γεωργιας, πρωτον μιν αγαθην διεισιν υπαρξαι την γην, ειτα δε φυτεργον επιστημονα, ειτα τα επερματα επηδαια· (eadem similitudo in Evangelio) τον αυτον τροπον γη μιν εοικεν η φυσις, γεωργω δε ο παιδευων, επερματι δε αι των λογων υποδηκαι κη τα παραγγελματα — Ευδαιμων μιν εν κη θεοφιλης ειτω ταυτα παντα δεων τις απεδωκεν.

he took care to be that of his most tender and loving mother ; a woman of the most gentle disposition. Afterwards, during the first years of his son's life, he carefully took all opportunities gradually to instruct him in every thing of which so tender an age was capable ; and, in particular, paid the utmost regard to the customs and dispositions of those children, with whom his beloved boy made any acquaintance. During this time young *Raphael* gave every day fresh marks of the sweetest, most amiable temper ; joined to which, appeared (completely to bless his good parents) a natural inclination for the study of painting, (which art was the profession of his father) and sufficient proofs of a great genius for it. It was on this motive that his modest parent, being convinced of his own inabilities to render him such assistance as was necessary, made application to *Pietro Perugino*, the most esteemed painter of that age, and had the good fortune to prevail on him to take this young scholar under his care.

THE amiableness of *Raphael's* temper, and his promising abilities as an artist, soon gained him the affection of *Pietro Perugino* ; whose instructions he received with so much attention, that in a very short time he imitated his manner so well, that it could with great difficulty be distinguished which

was

was the master. The stile or manner of *Pietro Perugino* was the most diligent imitation of nature; mixed indeed with the stiffness of the preceeding ages: but to this was added a degree of gracefulness, which was to *Raphael* of the greatest importance, as it gave an opening to that part of his genius. Thus we find him, yet in the early part of his life, to have advanced in his profession by the most sure and solid principles of industry; which, even to *Raphael* himself, was necessary to enable him to attain afterwards with facility the remaining requisites of his art.

HAVING now acquired all the advantage that he could hope for from *Perugino*, and hearing of the fame of *Michael Angelo*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*, he resolved to take a journey to *Florence*, to see and study the works of those great men.

IN *Michael Angelo* he saw a greatness of stile, that was totally opposite to the dryness of *Perugino*; and in *Leonardo da Vinci* a roundness and force of light and shadow, never before produced, at least since the revival of the arts. Being sensible of the excellencies of these two great masters, and knowing how necessary it was for him to profit by them, he laid aside every other consideration, and determined to give his whole attention to these objects; to which he accordingly applied with all possible diligence.

DURING

DURING this time, (as if fortune as well as nature had determined *every thing* for the perfection of this their favourite) *Raphael* made an acquaintance, which soon grew into a strict friendship, with *Fra. Bartholomeo di San Marco*. *Bartholomeo* possessed the only branch of painting, in which *Raphael* seemed to want any instructions, viz. That of a perfect knowledge of the quality and application of colours. But here let us pause a little and consider, how wonderful an example is this great man of that truth, that the finest genius cannot arrive at its full glory, without very industrious study, and also without the help of other men.

HAD it not been for the well founded principles of diligence, which *Raphael* received from *Pietro Perugino*, it is not impossible but the over-charged out-line of *Michael Angelo* might have misled him to a false stile of greatness: and the amiable strength of light and shadow of *Leonardo da Vinci*, which had not the truth of colouring with it, might have been equally dangerous for him; if this had not been most effectually prevented by the fortunate friendship of *Fra. Bartholomeo*.

WHAT a pleasure is it to see such a series of fortunate events unite, at a time when probably the greatest genius, that ever was, had the utmost occasion for every one of them? For it was now  
that



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that a most favourable occasion offered itself of disclosing to the world in full splendor, all the strength of his talents. The surprizing genius and accomplishments of this wonderful young man, then about twenty-four years of age, having reached the ears of Pope *Julius* the second, a great lover of the finest arts, he sent for him, and assigned him immediate employment in the *Vatican*. *Raphael* was now at the crisis of his fortune; and the success of his first performance was so great, that the Pope immediately discharged all the other painters, though some of the best artists of the time, who were employed in adorning that most famous and sumptuous palace; excepting only *Michael Angelo*, who was then in the principal chapel carrying on the great work of his picture of the Last Judgment. The Pope ordered also, that what these painters had already done, might be defaced, to make room for the works of *Raphael*; an order which this generous man opposed to the uttermost of his power; nay, even contrary to it, he caused some of the best of their works to remain; saying, it was but just that the world should see how much he had been beholden to those great men who went before him.

GIVE me leave, my dear friends, in reading this paper of Mr. *Jenkins*, to pause one moment to observe, that some of the figures on this very cieling are the works of *Pietro Perugino*, thus gratefully preserved

preserved by his dear pupil ; and the two figures in the corner of this great and capital picture of the schools of *Athens* (under which you are now sitting) are one of them the representation of *Raphael* himself, and the other (which is here, by *Raphael*, made the *superior* figure) that of his ever honoured master *Pietro Perugino*. But to proceed——

DURING the course of these his works in the *Vatican*, Pope *Julius* the second died. But, as if nothing was to stop the current of *Raphael's* greatness, *Leo* the tenth succeeded to the chair : a prince whose magnificent disposition led him to the patronage of the great men in all arts and sciences. He not only employed *Raphael* as a painter ; but, as he was likewise an able architect, gave him the direction of all his superb buildings, particularly of the stupendous fabrick of *St. Peter's*.

AT the same time *Raphael's* favour was solicited by all the great persons of *Europe*, who even *prayed* to be made happy with something from his excellent hand. Among those was *Francis*, the first, then king of *France* ; the father of his country, the patron of learning, the protector of all arts and sciences, in whose arms *Leonardo da Vinci* had died.

ALL

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ALL these honours, which to a man of an inferior disposition, might have produced pride or self-sufficiency, in *Raphael* had quite a contrary effect. As he grew in reputation, we find him increase in affability and goodness to all around him; for such was the uncommon influence of his amiable temper, that all his disciples (who were very numerous, and every one anxious for his own advancement) lived under his care in the most perfect harmony with each other: and so great was his generosity, that he was constantly ready to part even with the whole of his fortune to relieve the indigent and miserable. He was indeed a friend and a father to all, whosoever wanted his assistance, at any time, or on any occasion.

THE happy disposition of the mind of this great man, is apparently visible in all his works; for as no one had ever a clearer conception for the composition of them, nor a warmer heart to give that truth of expression to each character; so also he always followed the dictates of his heart, by chusing his subject at that point of time, which admitted of the execution of the *most noble and amiable* passions: for it is scarce possible to behold any one passion expressed by him, but the mind must be most sensibly affected by it; and the passions, which he was constantly most fond of expressing, were those of the highest degrees of  
the

the warmest, most overflowing benevolence of heart, and of the most exalted, the most devoted piety : thus presenting to the view of all succeeding ages, the most moving lessons of the two great principles of our duty to God and man, in a manner not at all inferior, either in force or dignity, to that of the greatest historians, orators, or poets.

HAPPY would it have been if he had been equally great in the third great branch of moral duties, that of self-government or temperance ! For as it would be endless to recount every particular of the excellence of *Raphael*, (and may these great and good parts of his character be not in vain presented to our view for our instruction and benefit !) so it is likewise necessary to own his failings ; in order the better to enable us to guard against them. Let us never forget, that in the noblest fabric, one principal part being defective, how easily the whole may be ruined.

IT is impossible to be acquainted with such a character as *Raphael*, without conceiving the greatest affection and veneration for it : how melancholy a reflection then is it, but at the same time how *useful a lesson to us*, to think that so much worth should be lost to the world by an imprudent pursuit of pleasure ? Such was the case with *Raphael* ; he was cut off by it, when in the  
flower



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flower of his years, in the fullest strength of his abilities, in the height of his glory. Nor had he that consolation, which many young men, dying at his years, have had; that his end was noble, and therefore impossible to be premature.

IF he who writes this sheds a tear for such an end of such a man, how much more reason to do so had those, who had been happy in his acquaintance and friendship? They indeed were with reason inconsolable. He was attended to his grave by all those of his profession then in *Rome*, who all regarded his loss as that of the most indulgent parent, the kindest master and the most sincere friend. Nor was the great croud of spectators less moved, when his body was (according to the custom of his country) exposed to view in the same place where his picture of the transfiguration, his last and greatest work, then stood.



AFTER you have been entertained, said *Crito's* pupil, with such a composition as this, I know not how to venture to trouble you with any of my reflections.

IN attending to it, I could not however help frequently observing, the many similar traces in

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this

this character and in that of *Virgil*. Both were blessed with great natural talents; in the improvement and perfection of which, both proceeded on the same *sure and solid foundations of the greatest industry*. Both aimed at the utmost correctness as well as spirit in their works. Both gave their attention with all possible diligence to the study of the works of the great men who had preceeded them. Both made themselves acquainted with many other sciences\*, besides that which was their principal profession.

EACH of them came to *Rome* (for neither of these great *Italians* were natives of this city) when a patron of all arts and sciences was on the throne; each was highly favoured here by the sovereign, and by all the principal men of the state. They were indeed the two chief glories of the two *Augustan* ages of *Rome*.

THEY were equally remarkable in bearing all their great honours with still greater modesty, affability, and goodness to all around them. Each was

\* *Virgilius omni curâ omnique studio se medicinæ & mathematicæ tradidit; quibus rebus cùm ante alios eruditior peritiorque factus esset se in urbem contulit, statimque Augusto conciliatus, &c.* With what honour and love does *Virgil* speak of the first of these his studies in the character of *Lapis*? How strongly also is his affection for the study of *natural philosophy* expressed throughout the whole *Georgics*, particularly towards the conclusion of the second book? — *Me vero primum, &c.*

was in particular a kind patron and cordial friend to the other poets and painters of his time; each was consequently beloved by all the contemporaries of his profession, though full of rivalry and envy among themselves. Both took all opportunities in their works of shewing their respect and gratitude \* to their patrons. Both indeed frequently shewed the goodness of their hearts (goodness equal perhaps even to their great abilities of mind) in many parts of their compositions; and both, in this last, (as well as in so many other respects) may be attentively studied to the greatest advantage.



FROM the *Vatican* palace, the company returned to their lodgings to dinner.

AFTER dinner the young nobleman very agreeably amused himself for an hour or two with Mr. Spence's *Polymetis*. His attention was first given to its sixteenth dialogue, which bears particular reference to some of the pictures in the *Vatican* manuscript of *Virgil*. He afterwards turned to

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the

\* *Bucolica scripta sunt in honorem Polionis, Varii, Galli; quia in distributione agrorum indemnem se præstiterunt. Georgica edidit in honorem Mæcenatis. Æneidem autem aggressus est, ut Romane simul urbis & Augusti originem celebraret.*

the fifth dialogue; the subject of which is the introduction, improvement, and fall of the arts of *Rome*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen laboured without intermission, from dinner time till it was dark, in the study of those two long speeches of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, which fill the fifty-second book of *Dion Cassius*.

*CRITO*'s pupil employed the afternoon in the re-perusal of that treatise of *Plutarch*, which is entitled, Πως δει τον νεον ποιημάτων ακχειν.

SEVERAL passages in that treatise much moved him. Ουτε γαρ πολιν αι κεκλεισμεναι πυλαι τηρουν αναλωτον, αν δια μιας παραδεχεται τας πολεμικας· οτε νεον αι περι τας αλλας ηδονας εγκρατειαι εωζουσιν, αν γε δια μιας λαθη προεμεν αυτον. In reading this period he could not avoid thinking of the fatal failing which ruined *Raphael*.

NOR was he inattentive of some other observations of *Plutarch*. Τοις απο εκνης λεγομενοις, η προς λυραν αδερμοις, η μελετωμενοις εν διδασκαλειω, ενιοτε ομολογει τα Πυθαγορα δογματα η Πλατων — διο, η τωτων ενεκα, η των προειρημενων απαντων, αγαθης δει τω νεω κυβερνησεως περι την αναγνωσιν, ινα μη προσδιαβληθεις, αλλα μαλλον προπαιδευθεις, ευμενης η φιλ η οικει υπο ποιητικης



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ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΠΕΜΗΤΑΙ — ἡ μΟΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΝ-  
ΘΡΩΠΟΥ ὃ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΙΘΗΣΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ. In perusing  
these passages he wished, that in modern places  
of education such care was observed, in relation  
to the study of *Virgil*, and other *Latin* poets, as  
*Plutarch* prescribes for the study of the *Greek* poets,  
particularly *Homer*.

IT was now about two and twenty o'clock.  
As *Crito's* pupil seldom had occasion to continue  
his studies so long as to *fatigue* his mind, he  
gladly closed the volume of *Plutarch*, and indul-  
ged the poetic meditations (to which his imagi-  
nation was at present very propense) during a  
long solitary walk to the church of *St. Onofrio*.

UNDER a flat stone in the pavement of that  
church lies the dust of *Tasso*: *Crito's* pupil read its  
short inscription; in reading it, he dropt the nose-  
gay of roses, which he had in his hand, on the  
stone; and left it there.

*Da sacro cineri flores. —*

HE returned to his lodgings from this long walk  
sometime after sun-set. During the following  
hour or two he amused himself with reading  
several favourite passages in the *Georgics* and *Bu-  
colics*. He considered with pleasure the rural  
scenes there described, as the landskip paintings  
of *Virgil's* pencil.

IMMEDIATELY before he retired to his bed-chamber, he soothed his mind to rest by those descriptions of happiness, with which the pastoral of the *Pollio* abounds. The remarkable turn of thought in the following lines seemed to him to be very much in the stile of some *Oriental* poetry.

*Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,  
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum  
Aspice venturo letantur & omnia sæclo.*



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TWENTIETH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE reader, perhaps, may not be displeased to turn his thoughts at present from *Rome* to that delightful country village, to which *Crito* had retired.

*CRITO* arrived at *Genfano* on *Monday* evening. He employed the next day in enquiring after proper lodgings for the young Painter, and in giving orders for their being aired, cleaned, and furnished. He made diligent enquiry also in relation to the medical assistance; which the young man might want here, in case his late distemper should return.

ON *Wednesday* morning *Crito* resumed his classic studies: for he had brought with him from *Rome*, in the pockets of his pupil's chaise, several octavo's and duodecimo's, relative to the history of *Augustus's* reign.

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AFTER some hours employed in the prosecution of these studies, he took an abstemious dinner, and in the afternoon walked out into the fields.

AT the entrance of the town of *Gensano* are several regularly-planted avenues: one of which is terminated by a monastery. From the monastery a narrow path leads down to the neighbouring beautiful lake \*.

WALKING along the avenue, *Crito* revolved in his mind what he had been reading in the morning relative to the history of *Augustus*. He reflected, with some satisfaction, that he was now almost within sight of that country town, which was for many ages the residence of *Augustus's* ancestors †. He recollected what *Suetonius* says of *Augustus's* grandfather ‡. May such (thought he) be my pupil's happy lot.

SUCH

\* *Proseguendosi si entra nelle bellissime strade di Gensano; (olim Cynthianum) lequali hanno piu del giardino, che della strada pubblica, per le spalliere d'olmi tosati a doppio ordine con ampia larghura. Vi è anche un bellissimo giardino de P. P. Cappucini, dal quale si vede il lago del vicino Nemi. Bellissimi sono i passeggi alla riva di questo lago, che rende il paese fruttifero e delizioso. Il giro del lago è quattro miglia. Eschinardi p. 303, 304.*

† *Velitræ* is about six or seven miles distant from *Gensano*,

‡ *Avus municipalibus magistris contentus abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit.*



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SUCH were *Crito's* reflections, while walking along the avenue, or while sitting under the shade of some of its elms. But as he passed by the convent, and entered the woods which hang over the lake, *other* far better thoughts arose in his mind.

THE GREAT EVENT, *which came to pass in the reign of Augustus*, and within the limits of his dominion, strongly attracted *Crito's* attention; and, by degrees, *totally* engaged both his head and heart. The hours of the afternoon and evening fled swiftly away, while his soul continued wrapt in the happy and heavenly contemplation.

NOR was this the case only on *Wednesday* evening: the whole succeeding day was employed in the *same* manner. All classic authors were laid aside: *Crito's* time in his lodgings was devoted solely to religious books, written on the subject of that GREAT EVENT; his rural walks were sanctified with similar pious meditations.

ON *Thursday* evening, as he was on the banks of the lake, musing on *that wonderful* work of DIVINE LOVE, he searched out a retired place among the bushes and rocks, where no eye could behold him. There joyfully knelt he down on  
the

the grass; and breathed to heaven some fervent sighs.

*Let all the angels of God adore him. Such was the command of the ETERNAL FATHER, when he brought HIS SON into the world: though the devout Spirits of heaven we can scarce imagine to have wanted such invitation or command. Oh! what must have been their devotions, when they saw the time of his holy incarnation approaching?*

*When Thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.*

*Et Homo factus est.*

CRITO now rose from the grass; and continued his solitary walk. He ascended from the lake to the upper ground: he stopt at a small heap of ruins, through which a wild fig-tree had thrust forth its branches: he sat down there, and for some minutes surveyed the prospect.

ON his left appeared many mountains and hills, formerly productive of extensive olive-gardens and the richest vineyards; on his right a vast plain, naturally very fruitful, and antiently very populous; though now in great measure uncultivated and abandoned,

It

IT suddenly occurred to *Crito's* imagination, that this part of *Italy*, in its present state, might be perhaps justly considered, as in several respects very similar to the *province of Galilee* in the condition in which it is described by modern travellers.

WITH a swift transition of thought he now indulged himself in the hope of visiting that country.—If our *Levant* travels (thought he to himself) should extend to the *Holy Land*, it will be then some pleasure to us to compare the present condition of *Galilee* with *Strabo's*, *Pliny's*, and above all, *Josephus's* description of its ancient populousness, and high degree of cultivation \*.

SUCH a comparison will be the subject of many melancholy but pleasing reflections to us in the intervals of those high contemplations and devotions, which are the proper exercise of a traveller's mind while in those regions.—But with what rapture will my good pupil survey the mountains and lakes near *Nazareth*? He will love the solitude, he will be pleased even with the poverty of that sacred village †.

*CRITO's*

\* See *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 775. — *Josephus* de bello Judaico, lib. iii. cap. 3. — *Pliny*, lib. v. cap. 15.

† See the description of *Nazareth* in *Heyman's Travels*.

The

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*CRIO*'s soul now entered into a calm and sweet meditation on the *happy* virtues of humility, poverty of spirit, and love of retirement from the world; a meditation which he frequently indulged, and which he always intermingled with ardent aspirations to heaven.

BUT let us not dwell any longer on the description of *Crito*'s devotions. The celestial pleasures of piety in great measure depend on their being kept concealed. *Soli DEO & angelis ejus nota esse debet, & hominum notitiam devitare.*

ON

The place, where the Saviour of the world was conceived, and where he spent the greatest part of his life, is at present one of the meanest in the whole country.

Its situation is very retired; in a small valley at the foot of an hill, surrounded by a circle of mountains.

Those mountains, though now bare and uncultivated, yet would naturally admit of the finest improvements in plantations of olives, figs, and vines: they command an extensive view of the fruitful plain of *Esdraclon*, antiently called the valley of *Jesi ael*.

Within two hours journey of *Nazareth* stands the most beautiful of all hills, *Mount Tabor*: the lake of *Tiberias* makes part of the prospect from its summit.

It seems not an improper observation, that *Galilee* is a very different kind of country from *Judæa*. *Judæa*, particularly the region in the route of *Jerusalem*, (from which route most *Europeans* unadvisedly form their ideas of the whole *Terra Sancta*) is very rocky and to appearance barren. Whereas *Galilee* is naturally a very beautiful and fertile land; though desolation is at present spread over it, as well as over the neighbouring provinces of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*.



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ON *Friday* morning, about nine o'clock, *Crito* walked out from his lodgings to the avenue on the *Roman* road. He sat down there on a bench under one of the trees; and, having a book in his pocket, intended to continue there, till his *English* friends, according to their appointment, should arrive from *Rome*.

THE book was the *Greek* Testament: the passage, which on opening that book first met and rejoiced his eye, was the following short description of piety and beneficence united.

Συνήρχοντο οχλοι πολλοι ακουειν, καὶ θεραπευεσθαι υπ' αὐτου απο των ασθενειων αὐτων. Αὐτος δὲ ην υποχωρων εν ταῖς ερημοῖς, καὶ προσευχομενος.

WHILE *Crito* was engaged in this most happy study, he was joined by an aged father of the neighbouring poor convent. Benignity and humility shone in his venerable countenance.

*His snowy locks were down his shoulders shed,  
As hoary frost with spangles doth attire  
The mossy branches of an oak half dead.*

His whole appearance, indeed, strongly resembled that of the Hermit Contemplation, as described in *Spenser's Legend of Holiness*. He sat down on the bench.

bench by *Crito*, and by degrees entered into talk with him.

THE reader may perhaps some time hence be informed what was the subject of their discourse. Suffice it at present to take notice only, that their conversation was polite, friendly, loving, and earnest.

IN about an hour's time the bell of the neighbouring chapel rang: the old man then rose from his seat, and very affectionately took his leave of *Crito*. About the same time *Crito* saw at a distance on the road the coach of his *English* friends: he walked forward to meet them.

HIS pupil with joy saw him coming; and telling the company of it, they ordered the coach to stop. They got out; and after several kind enquiries as to his health, walked with him into the town.

DURING this walk, they informed *Crito*, that they proposed to dine with him to-day at *Gensano*, and after dinner to make a further excursion towards *Laurentum* and *Lavinium*. They intended, they said, to pass a day or two in *that* country, which was the principal scene of the actions described in the six last books of the *Æneid*; and should be very glad of their tutor's company.

CRITO

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*CRITO* with thanks declined this proposal: his reason for declining it was, partly because he was unwilling to deprive the young *Irishman* of his seat in the coach during this agreeable tour, partly because he was desirous of making use of the next two or three days in cultivating a further acquaintance with the good old father in the convent.



SOME few mornings afterwards the young gentlemen returned to *Genzano*; and from thence (taking *Crito* into the coach with them) proceeded to *Rome*.

THEIR conversation, during the first part of this short journey, was on the subject of what they had been seeing in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium* and *Laurentum*: from thence it naturally turned to the topic of *Virgil's* poetical and moral character.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen then informed *Crito* of the entertainment which he had lately enjoyed at *Rome*, in hearing *Virgil's* character compared with that of *Raphael d'Urbino*.

ON

ON further explanation of this matter, the young nobleman promised *Crito*, that immediately on their arrival at *Rome* he would with pleasure communicate to him Mr. *Jenkins's* paper on the character of *Raphael*: but *Crito's* pupil seemed to be backward in offering to shew to his tutor the observations which he had made on *Virgil's* character. He desired further time to enlarge and correct thoir observations.

PERHAPS, said he, when we shall be at *Naples*, I may be able to offer you a poor paper on the subject, one morning while we shall be gathering some fresh laurel branches from his tomb; or shall be rowing to the arched rocks of that small island, which is called *his school*. But at present I must beg to be excused.—My worthy friend here (continued he, turning to the eldest of his young friends) has some papers which will give you much greater entertainment. He has been hard at work, ever since you left *Rome*, on the character of *Agrippa*.



THE coach was now come within two or three miles of *Rome*, when the young nobleman, looking out of the coach-window, admired the noble effect,



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effect, which the ancient aqueducts had in that prospect.

SCARCE any thing indeed can be imagined more striking to a traveller, than the numerous aqueducts, which are still to be seen stretching their long arcades or bridges across the *Campania* of *Latium*; and directing their lofty and majestic course to *Rome*, like comets to the center of the solar system.

IT was on a hillock, on the *Appian* way, just above the church of *Domine quo vadis*, that the company stopt to admire this noble prospect.

*CRITO* took this opportunity of reminding his young friends, that the most ancient of these aqueducts was the work of *Appius Claudius Crassus*, who was censor during the first consulship of the second *Decius*, rather more than three hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The same person (said he) was the founder of this famous paved road on which we are now travelling. *Viam munivit, & aquam in urbem duxit, eaque unus perfecit* \*.

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THE

\* Vide *Livii* lib. ix. c. 29. — *Montfaucon* tom. iv. part 2. c. 1. — *Hooker* vol. i. p. 526.

THE second aqueduct was built by *Curius Dentatus*. *Curius* employed in that work of public utility, all his part of the spoils of the war with king *Pyrrhus*. But his aqueduct is on the other side of *Rome* towards *Tivoli* †.

THE third and most useful of all the aqueducts, was that of the *Aqua Martia*. It was built originally by *Marcus* \*, but restored by *Agrippa*, who generously and justly left to it the name of its first founder.

THE fourth and fifth of the *Roman* aqueducts were the *Aqua Julia* and the *Aqua Augusta*, vulgò *Virginis*. These were both entirely the works of *Agrippa*; though that nobly-minded man declined giving his name to either of them. Indeed, at *Rome*, as well as in all other parts of *Italy*, *Agrippa* constantly endeavoured to hide his beneficence under

† See book i. p. 167.

\* *Dicantur verâ æstimatione invidiâ miracula, quæ Q. Marcius Rex fecit. Is jussus a senatu aquarum Appiæ, Anienis, Teveris ductus rescire, novam à nomine suo appellatam, cuniculis per montes ætatis, intra Præturæ suæ tempus adduxit. Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe frigoris salubritatisque palmâ præconio urbis Martia est inter reliqua Deûm munera urbi tributa.—Annium omnium comparatione, differentia suprâ dicta deprenditur, cum quantum Aqua Virgo tacet, tantum præstet Martia haustu.* Pliny.

*Martia tota potui totius urbis servit: Reliquæ aquæ aliis usibus assignantur. Habet longitudinem a capite ad urbem LX mill. passuum & DCCCX semis.* Frontinus.

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Pliny.  
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under the name of his friend, patron, and sovereign, *Augustus*; or (what was perhaps more pleasing to that emperor) to attribute the honour of the design to *Augustus's* adoptive father, *Julius*.

I AM heartily glad that we are come to the times of *Agrippa*; and shall, with very great pleasure, listen to your observations on his excellent character.

Some time this afternoon, when you shall not be better employed, (replied the eldest of the young gentlemen) I will submit my papers to your correction: in the mean time, let not a thought, relative to those papers, interrupt what you was going to say further on the history of these aqueducts.

THERE is no occasion, *at present*, replied *Crito*, to trouble you with the long catalogue of the thirteen aqueducts which were built by the successors of *Augustus*. Let me only observe with you in general, that such works of public utility are certainly the best ways by which a sovereign can display his magnificence. King *Abab* could erect an house of ivory; (called so, I suppose, for the same reason, as *Nero's* palace was called an house of gold) but it was the pious *Hezekiah* who built an aqueduct, and brought water into the city. Let

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us not, however at present, talk of *Jerusalem*: let us fix our thoughts on *Rome*; and, if you please, prosecute our journey thither.



THE eldest of the young gentlemen now leaned out of the coach-window, and told the coachman to drive on; and when he came to *Rome*, to turn into the *Piazza Navona*.

IN less than an hour the company arrived there. While the coach was driving slowly round the great fountain, the young nobleman joined with *Crito's* pupil in admiring the august idea with which *Bernini* must have been animated, while forming that magnificent design. But *Crito*, with the other young gentleman, observed, that how justly soever the modern *Romans* might boast of this grand decoration of their city by *Bernini*, yet they ought not to forget that the really useful part of this fountain was originally due to *Agrippa*.

FROM the *Piazza Navona* the coach proceeded to the *Fontana di Trevi*. The company here stepped out of the coach to enjoy the agreeable, fresh and cool air of the place: under the shade of one of the neighbouring shops they stood for a considerable



considerable time, to admire the variety of cascades in which *Agrippa's* virgin aqueduct there bursts forth amidst the artificial rock-work. The young nobleman then turned the attention of the company to the new embellishment of that superb *Facciata*; one of the bas-reliefs which represents *Agrippa* with his soldiers searching for the springs of this fountain.

FROM the *Fontana di Trevi* the company walked on to the *Triton* fountain in the *Piazza Barberini*.

THE designs and ornaments of the *modern* fountains in this city, said the young nobleman, are indeed very grand. Yet I much question, whether or no, those of antient *Rome* were not far superior. If I am not mistaken, *Agrippa*, in the year of his *Ædileship*, built for the use of the inhabitants of this city, one hundred and thirty reservoirs of water, and one hundred and five public fountains: in the adorning of which he employed not less than *three hundred marble or brass statues*, and *four hundred marble columns*.

BUT let us turn down this street on our left. By the time we get to our lodgings, I hope, we shall find dinner ready. I think we ought to drink to-day a glass or two to the glorious memory of

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*Agrippa*; a glass not of wine, but (what is far more pleasant in this burning climate) of that cool and pure water, which still flows from his long-lived munificence, though near eighteen hundred years are elapsed since that of his *Ædileship*. All the houses in this part of the town are, I think, supplied from his aqueducts \*.

THE company now walked to their lodgings. They sat down with pleasure to dinner. *Crito* in particular seemed very happy at the thoughts of being returned to *Rome*, and being seated at table again with his dear friends.

DURING dinner time, the young nobleman introduced the topic of the noble and useful work of *Sir Hugh Middleton*; by which work *London* and *Westminster* are supplied with water; subterranean pipes running thro' almost every street, like veins thro' every member of the human body. He compared *Sir Hugh's* benevolence with that of *Agrippa*; tho' he owned, that (to outward appearance at least) the capital of *Britain* is in its supplies

\* Τοσούτον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ εισαγωγίμου ὕδατος διὰ τῶν υδραγωγείων, ποταμῶς διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν υπονομένων ρένων, ἀπάσαι δὲ οἰκίαι σχεδὸν δεξαμένης καὶ σιφωίας, καὶ κρήνης ἔχουσιν ἀφθονίας, ὥς πλείστη ἐπιμελείαν ἐποίησατο Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀναδύμασι κοσμήσας τὴν πόλιν. *Strabo*, lib. v.

Modern *Rome* has the same convenience of plenty of water. See Abbé *Richard's* Travels, vol. vi. p. 225.

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plies of water, as yet, far inferior either to antient or modern *Rome* : as inferior to *Rome*, as it is superior to *Paris*.

BUT let us not wander too much, said he, from *Agrippa's* character. Where, dear Sir, are we to have the pleasure of reading your paper on that subject this afternoon?

I SCARCE know, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, what place to chuse for that purpose. *Many* parts of *Rome* were antiently embellished with *Agrippa's* public works of various kinds: but I suppose you will be glad to visit that great monument of his memory, which is the most universally celebrated. However, I will wait upon you again in an hour or two, (when the air begins to grow cool) and take your directions.



ABOUT six o'clock in the afternoon, the company went together to the place of the *Septa Julia*, and from thence to the situation of *Agrippa's* gardens, and the small remains of his baths; observing, that *Agrippa* finished each of these works at a great expence, and generously left them to the public use.

THEY proceeded to the *Pantheon*.

APPROACHING to it, tho' as yet at a considerable distance, they saw with pleasure *Agrippa's* name engraven over the portico in characters now all black with age.

THEY passed thro' the stately portico, and entered the threshold of the brazen gate.

IF I am not mistaken, said *Crito's* pupil, *Virgil* in his description of the building of *Carthage* seems to have had in his mind, not only the idea of what would be the natural appearance of a new city in a maritime colony, but also the ideas of those magnificent structures, with which *Augustus* and *Agrippa* were in his time adorning *Rome*.

THE hint of the *alta theatri fundamenta* was perhaps taken from *Marcellus's* theatre: the principal temple of *Carthage* seems embellished exactly with the same ornaments as *this Pantheon*.

*Ærea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexæque  
Ære trabes, foribus cardo stridebat ahenis \**

BUT

\* The original brazen gate of the *Pantheon* was carried away by *Genferic*: its brazen steps, with many other of its ornaments, by one of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors in the seventh century: the vast nails and other brass work of the roof



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BUT perhaps this fancy may have no real foundation. Let us go into the church.—Though we have so often visited it, yet still this venerable pile strikes us with awe.

THE company now advanced to the centre of the *Pantheon*, and looked up to its roof, while the young nobleman made several judicious reflections on its architecture,

How pleasing, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning to *Crito's* pupil, is the kind of light which flows from that circular aperture? It seems to be something half way between the splendor of the sun, and softness of the moon. Might not a modern flowery *Italian* writer compare this light to the purity and brightness of *Agrippa's* character, attempered as it was, and softened by his modesty?

BUT if you please we will sit down, in that recess on our right, on the wooden bench behind those two rich *Corinthian* columns. We shall be there more out of the way of the persons, who are continually coming from motives either of curiosity or devotion to visit this church.

THE

roof to the weight of 45,000,250 pounds (see *Abate Venuti*, vol. 2. p. 73.) by pope *Urban VIII.* The pope indeed employed part of this metal to a very noble purpose, viz. the construction of the present most magnificent columns and canopy over the tomb of *St. Peter* in the *Vatican*.

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THE company now took their seats on the bench, while the eldest of the young gentlemen stood leaning against one of the columns. He paused for some moments in silence, and then delivered his thoughts in the following manner; fluently, without hesitation, without being once obliged to look on his paper of notes.



THE character of *Agrippa*, my dear friends, in one word, seems to be this. Very eminent merit attended by very remarkable modesty.

LET us first endeavour to consider his military history.

*AGRIPPA's* eminent merit in this sphere of action is demonstrated by the same proof as that of our *British* general, the Duke of *Marlborough*: *He was always successful.*

*AGRIPPA* was victorious in the *East*: he was victorious among the most warlike nations of the *West*; in *Hungary* and *Germany*, in *France*, and in *Spain*.

BUT *Agrippa's* military glory was not (like that of all our *modern* commanders) confined to *one* element.

element. If in his campaigns he may in any particular point be compared to the Duke of *Marlborough*, certainly in his naval victories he may be put on a parallel with the most famous commanders at sea. None of the *British* or *Dutch* admirals could ever boast of trophies more splendid than the rostral crown and sea-green standard of *Agrippa*. He subdued the marine power of *Sextus Pompeius*; that son of *Neptune*, whose fleets were most formidable in all the western parts of the *Mediterranean*. He had a great share in the victory at *Actium*, over the immense combined navies of *Egypt* and the *Levant*. How eminently distinguished is *Agrippa's* figure in *Virgil's* picture of that sea-fight?

— *Ventis, & Diis Agrippa secundis*  
*Arduus agmen agens, cui belli insigne superbum*  
*Tempora navali fulgent rostrata coronâ.*

THE word *superbum* in this passage was certainly intended to convey the idea of grandeur, not of pride. For *Agrippa's* modesty was as remarkable in the military world, as his glory. Though in the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, above thirty other commanders had solicited and obtained the honour of a triumph; yet *Agrippa*, from a principle of modesty, as well as of prudence, constantly declined it; declined that honour, which  
to

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to a *Roman* eye had always appeared as the highest and most desirable object of a military life.

PERMIT me to observe, that this modesty of *Agrippa* has been very abundantly rewarded. For, while almost all his contemporary generals and admirals are comparatively sunk in oblivion, the memory of *Agrippa's* military glory still remains flourishing.

THIS seems the more remarkable; as the works of that great historian and poet, who particularly recorded *Agrippa's* military history, and whose writings, it might be imagined, would have proved in the long run the most firm supports of his fame, are both long ago perished: I mean *Livy* and *Varius*.

OFTEN did I wish last week, that the part of *Livy's* history, which related to *Agrippa*, had been preserved. Often have I heard you, my dear friend, (in saying this he turned to *Crito's* pupil) lament the loss of *Varius's* poems: *Varius*, the *Roman Homer*.

*Scriberis Vario fortis, & hostium*

*Victor, Mæonii carminis alite*

*Quam rem cunque ferox navibus, aut equis*

*Miles te duce gesserit.*

*Nos,*



*Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere; nec gravem  
Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii;  
Nec cursus duplices per mare Ulyssæi —*

IF *Varius* in any degree really resembled *Homer*, particularly in the art of drawing characters, his military character of *Agrippa* may justly be imagined to have contained several particulars very instructive to the young *Roman reader*.

FOR, besides the eminent merit of able commandership, *Agrippa* possessed many military accomplishments; suitable to the character of a poet's hero; and such as a young reader might be animated to the hopes of imitating. *Virtutis erat nobilissimæ; labore, vigiliâ, periculo invictus.*

BUT let us now turn our thoughts to another subject.

SITTING, as you are at present, under the stately roof of this venerable fabrick; a fabrick erected by *Agrippa* for a religious purpose, and for above these last thousand years constantly used as a Christian church; in *this place, you, dear sir*, will justly expect (in saying this, the young orator turned towards *Crito*) that we should endeavour to exercise our little eloquence, not so much on *Agrippa's* military heroisms, as on that far better topic, his labours in times of peace.

AGRIPPA

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*AGRIPPA* in his high station must have had frequent opportunities of being beneficent to several of the nations which were then subject to the *Roman* empire. He is said to have behaved to them with great equity and goodness — But you are going to say something: let me not prevent you.

I REMEMBER reading with great pleasure in *Josephus*, replied *Crito*, some particulars of *Agrippa*'s just and true beneficence to the inhabitants of *Asia Minor* \*; as well as the description of his visit to *Jerusalem* †.

THE conversation now dwelt for some minutes on that article of the *Jewish* history; it afterwards returned to its former topic: the young nobleman observing, that *Agrippa* adorned several parts of *Europe* with works of great public utility, as well as splendor.

I RE-

\* Πρὸ τὰς ἐνεργειῶν αὐτῆς ἐβραδυνετο ὁ Ἀγρίππας. — Χρηστὸν ἦν καὶ μεγαλοψυχὸν πρὸς τὸ παρεχεῖν ὅσα τοῖς ἡξιοκροῖσι ὠφελίμα, μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐλπίει. *Antiq. Judaic. lib. xvi.*

† Ἦγεν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων, ὑπάρχοντων τε τῷ δήμῳ πάντων ἐν ἰορδάνει ῥοαῖ καὶ δέχοντες τὸν ἀνδρα σὺν εὐφημασίαις. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ ΘΕΩ μὲν ἐκατομβὴν κατέδυσεν, εἰς γὰρ τοὺς ἄνθρωποι. — Απαγγέλλεται δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων, ὡς μὲν ἐπιβὰς τῆς χώρας εὐμένης, ὡς δὲ ἀπέδωκεν τῷ ΘΕΩ τὰ τίλεια θύματα, τιμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτελείαις εὐχαίς, ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἄνθρωποι ἐγείνας, καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ζῆλον προσήκων. *Ibid.*

I REMEMBER, said he, while we were in *France*, we were informed that *Agrippa* was the author of the vast design of those four great roads, which from their mutual centre near *Lyons* were extended to the most distant parts of the *Gallic* provinces. The learned Abbé, who gave us this information, added that some remains of these roads were still visible near *Lyons*. You must, I think, remember that conversation : it happened soon after our first arrival from *England* at *Paris*, while we were viewing the church of the *Hopital des Invalides*. Don't you recollect, with what pleasure the Abbé then digressed from this work of *Agrippa* into a panegyric on the many *modern* public works in *France*. He described the long and magnificent, planted and paved avenues, which lead from several quarters, particularly from *Fontainbleau* to *Paris* : he recited the catalogue of the splendid structures, with which *Louis le Grand* and *Colbert* adorned the bank of the *Seine* : he told us, that when we should be making the tour of *France*, we should be eye-witnesses of many long canals joining rivers naturally distant ; some joining distant seas.

I VERY well recollect that conversation, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Our hearts sympathized with the Abbé's public spirit : for (thank God) we have not been educated in the darkness of that narrow and mean policy, which envies and depreciates every noble action that is

atchieved by *Frenchmen*, and grudges every blessing that is granted by Providence to *France*. There is a policy, which is much more generous, much more brave, much more wise; which knows how to rejoice in the virtues and prosperities of its neighbour nation; though (as in duty bound) it directs its labours chiefly to the advantage of its own people.

THE good Abbé, I remember, listened with pleasure to the account we gave him of the improvements which were making in *England*, such as our new bridges, new roads, and other works of peace. I wish we had been able to communicate to him that great plan of inland navigation, which (I hear from *Staffordshire*) is now preparing to be laid before the House of Commons: the plan for the junction of the *Severn*, *Trent*, and *Mersey*.

*Bid harbours open, public ways extend,  
 Bid temples, worthier of the God ascend;  
 Back to his bounds the subject sea command,  
 And roll obedient rivers thro' the land:  
 These honours PEACE to happy Britain brings,  
 These are Imperial works, and worthy Kings.*

I REMEMBER, said *Crito*, the similar generous sentiments which flowed from your lips and heart,  
 while



while viewing the ruins at *Dunkirk*. As an *Englishman* you was glad that the trade of *London* was secured by the dismantling of *Dunkirk*, but yet you expressed much concern that a work of such magnificence, and of such utility to the commerce of *France* and *Flanders* should be brought to desolation. You cast a look of compassion on its long canal then almost choked with sand; and on its moles, over which the sea at a high tide was then washing. You did not rejoyce at the demolition even of its forts; some of which were then in ruins, some laid level with the sands, others were buried in the waves. You wished, that the security of your country could have been effected by other means. But let us not deviate too much from the subject of our *Roman* studies.

IF *Agrippa*, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, was beneficent to *France*, he was (as must be naturally imagined) much more so to *Italy*.

OF this we shall perhaps see *one specimen* in our journey to *Naples*; I mean that great artificial sea-port near *Misenum*; which, though made in time of war, and designed as a station for the *Italian* fleet in opposition to the invasions of *Sextus Pompeius*\*, yet certainly proved very useful to

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Y

trade

\* See *Frensbem.* book 128. c. 29, 30. and also *Suetonius*, A. V. C. 717. — *Misenum* seems to have been the *Plymouth*, as *Antium* was the *Portsmouth*, and *Ostia* the *Nore* of antient *Rome*.

trade and navigation in the following years of peace.

*AGRIPPA's* designs were also very beneficial in dispersing the pestilential vapours, which infected the country round the lake *Averno*. But of his labours between the *Averno* and *Lucrine*, I am afraid, we shall find but few traces remaining; as the face of that shore is said to be very considerably changed by the inundations of the sea, and the eruptions of subterranean fires.

BUT whatever were the public labours of *Agrip-pa* in other parts of *Italy*, *Rome* seems to have been the place, the improvement and embellishment of which he had most at heart.

IT is needless for me to speak on that topic. This morning, this afternoon, this instant, your eyes are witnesses of the magnificence with which he adorned the capital of his country.

LONG aqueducts, and numerous fountains; public baths, and public gardens; vast porticoes for the comitia or assemblies of the people; stately temples, particularly *his Pantheon*, were *Agrip-pa's* works: works far surpassing those of any other private *Roman*, and perhaps not equalled by those of any emperor.

O MY dear friends, when we shall be at *Athens* viewing the grand portico of the temple of *Minerva* in the *Acropolis*, and talking of the times of *Pericles*, shall we not then recollect *Agrippa* and his *Pantheon*? *Agrippa* was the *Roman Pericles* in relation to the grandeur of his public structures: in other respects his character was far superior.

THE young nobleman now rose from his seat; and after some pause, How much more honourable to *Agrippa*, said he, was such magnificence, thus displayed in works of *public utility*, than if he had confined his vast expences to the adorning merely his own palace or villa?

If I am not mistaken, *Agrippa* once proposed, that the chef d'œuvres of sculpture and painting then in *Rome* should not be suffered to remain any longer in private hands, but (satisfaction being made to the owners) should all be removed to some of the *public* buildings in this city. *Agrippa* set the example of this, as well as proposed the design\*.

THE design, said *Crito's* pupil, seems to have been originally a thought of *Socrates*; as what would be a great means of repressing *private* luxury and pride; as well as of encouraging the fine arts,

\* *Extat oratio Agrippæ de hac re magnifica & maximo civium digna.* PLINY.

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arts, and of encreasing the *public* magnificence. If I remember right, it is in the third book of the *Memorabilia*.—But we interrupt our friend.

WHAT I have further to say on this subject, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, relates to a circumstance, which, I am sure, will give *you* peculiar pleasure.

THE public spirit of *Agrippa* was attended with the same *modesty*, that accompanied his military merit. As your tutor observed this morning, *Agrippa* in all his structures constantly endeavoured to hide himself under the names of his friends and benefactors, and to turn on them all the commendation and praise.

BUT *this modesty also* has happily failed of its intended effect. *Agrippa's* name is and will for ever be most renowned for these works of goodness. Some of his works themselves seem to have met with peculiar favour and mercy from the rough hand of time. You observed this morning, that great part of this city was still supplied by his aqueduct. Is it not also something remarkable; that this his Pantheon (on the portico he was by *Augustus* unwillingly obliged to inscribe his name) should still subsist, far more entire and perfect, than any other of all the pompous fabrics, with which this stately city was ever filled?

BUT



BUT if you please, we will now step into the portico: you seem tired of *sitting* in this recess: we can walk about the portico with more liberty, than we can in the church.



UNDER the portico of the *Pantheon* are to this day remaining two great niches: in one of which stood antiently the *colossal* statue of *Augustus*, in the other that of *Agrippa*.

IF you please (continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, leading his friends to the niche on the left hand) we may *here not improperly* consider some parts of *Agrippa's* conduct: I mean, his conduct in regard to *Augustus*.

As *Augustus* lived in the mixed character of a *Roman* citizen and of a *Roman* emperor, so the behaviour of *Agrippa* to him was proportionally composed of the offices both of a *friend*, and of a *minister*.

IF we consider *Agrippa* in the first of these points of view, we shall find his conduct to be (according to *Dion Cassius's* description) one of the most perfect patterns of affectionate *friendship*.

PERMIT me to make a distinction here. I commend not *Agrippa's* friendship to *Octavius*, but

to *Augustus*. It was no praise to be the friend of the bloody triumvir: but it is a great honour to have been so to the wise and mild emperor.

CAPABLE as *Agrippa* was to have filled the principal place, he modestly and wisely chose the second. In that rank he continued to cultivate the favour of *Augustus*, without meanness, without envy. Indeed their constant friendship confers on each of them equal honour. For it was without distrust or suspicion that *Augustus* exalted *Agrippa* to the chief honours of the state: it was with proper generosity that *Augustus* rewarded his merit; making him his colleague in the government, and his intended successor in the empire: it was with lasting gratitude (gratitude, how noble a virtue in princes!) that on the death of *Agrippa*, *Augustus* spoke himself the funeral panegyric, and placed the urn in his own sepulchre; and continued ever afterwards highly to honour his memory.

IF we consider *Agrippa* in the *other* point of view, we shall find his behaviour that of a most wise and virtuous *minister of state*.

*AGRIPPA* aided his sovereign with the best counsels: and attributed to him (not to himself) all the honour arising from them,

*AGRIPPA* was not less beloved by the people than by the prince.

HE acquired this public favour by the best means; without ostentation, without any ambitious design,

He sought it with no other intention than that of strengthening and establishing by it the authority of his prince.

ON the other hand, he never made any other use of his favour with his sovereign, than that of employing it as an instrument for procuring the greatest benefit and most real happiness to the people.

O MY dear friends, with what philanthropic and patriotic ardour ought we to join our wishes, that *Great Britain* may in the present and in future centuries be often under the guidance of *such* a prime minister, the support of the throne, the blessing of the nation?

YOU were just now speaking of *France*; (continued the young politician, addressing himself to his noble companion) I have been thinking, whether or no the illustrious pair, whose statues once adorned these niches, might not be compared, in some respects, to that honest prime minister, the Duke of *Sully*, and his friend, fellow-soldier, and sovereign *Henry the Great*; in other respects, to Cardinal *Amboise*, and that father of his people

*Louis* the Twelfth. You may remember what *Mezerai* says of the Cardinal. *Ce ministre fut justement aimé de la France & de son maitre, parce qu'il les aimoit tous les deux également.*

I WISH, said *Crito*, that at your leisure you would inform me of some of the particulars in the life of Cardinal *Amboise*. I remember, when I was in *Normandy*, I went to see his grand mausolæum in his cathedral at *Rouen*; but I am very little acquainted with his character. In general I know it is highly and I suppose justly celebrated: yet, if I am not mistaken, there is reason to wish, that he had been less concerned with the negotiations of *Italy*, and more with the religious business of his dioceses. These were the sentiments which passed through my mind, while I stood leaning on the rails of that altar, which adjoins to his mausolæum.

BUT let me not at present draw off the thoughts of the company from your noble and just panegyric on *Agrippa*.

I AM deeply convinced, replied the worthy youth, that my abilities are very inadequate to the task. It is perhaps a very ridiculous vanity in me, at the age of one or two and twenty, to be talking of *Agrippa's* ministerial merit. I shall have reason to be happy, if I shall be able to think properly



properly on the subject twenty years hence. But I am sure I ought to thank you for your condescension: you have been patiently listening to me, though what I have had to say deserves to be considered in no better light, than that of a school-boy's declamation.

OFTEN did I wish last week for the abilities of some of my father's parliamentary friends, while I was reading and endeavouring to understand the long train of argument discussed by *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas* in *that* important debate in the Roman cabinet-council, which was to determine whether *Augustus* should retain or resign the imperial power.

IN this debate *Agrippa*, you know, according to his usual magnanimity and ardent sensibility of that glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, strongly supported the proposal which seemed the most generous. He advised *Augustus* gradually and prudently to resign the supreme authority into the hands of its antient owners, the senate and people of *Rome*. He enforced this advice (which was directly against his own private interest) with all the spirit of a *Roman*, zealous for the name of liberty; and with all the sincerity of a true friend, anxious for the safety, prosperity, and happiness of *Augustus*.

MÆCE-

*MÆCENAS*, on the other hand, elegantly and eloquently laid open the true condition of the *Roman* state. It had long since lost, said he, and was now become *incapable* to enjoy, the *real* blessings of liberty. Its provinces groaned under various successive oppressors: its capital was filled with sedition and corruption, confusion and anarchy. All the parts of its great and populous empire were ravaged with bloody and endless civil wars. The ship of the state, crowded with a mutinous and wicked crew, but without a rudder, without ballast, was tossed on a boisterous sea by perpetual storms; storms, from the rage and wild fury of which a settled and moderate monarchy alone could open to her a secure refuge, and a quiet smooth haven.

IN the name of his country, in the name of mankind, *Mæcenas* then conjured *Augustus* to retain the sovereignty; to retain it from the principle, not of ambition, but of public spirit: to support what was now become the real interest of *Rome* by his wise and mild government: and to protect from the return of the most dreadful calamities that large part of the human race, which was subject to her dominion.

O MY dear countrymen, as an *Englishman* I hope that I shall always continue to abominate the idea of the extinction of national liberty; yet, let

me own, that if I had lived under *Augustus's* reign, I should have been thankful that the times of anarchy were passed.

Ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκᾶ, καὶ τῆς πόλεως, πείσσωμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ σοὶ διδῶσθαι καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἔχωμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνεπαύσεν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιήται.

To the truth and force of these arguments *Agrippa* submitted. He then, immediately on the determination of this grand debate, began to contrive how he might, by the most indefatigable application, render the present form of government as beneficial to the public as possible.

BUT let me not trouble you with a repetition of *Agrippa's* good actions. Let me rather hasten to close this declamation. In what manner can I better conclude it, than with the words of *Dion Cassius*?

Ἀγρίππας τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνδρωπῶν διαφανὺς ἀρίστου.

\* \* \*

THE

THE conversation now turned to other topics.—The portico of the *Panttheon* is supported by sixteen columns, which are four feet and an half in diameter, and nine and thirty feet in height, without measuring either the capital or the base.

THE young nobleman observed to the company, that each of these lofty pillars is formed out of *one single block of Egyptian granite*.

ALL architects agree, said he, that this portico was *not* built at the same time with the temple: but added to it afterwards. Perhaps the temple might be built by *Agrippa* before the battle of *Actium*; and the portico added soon after the conquest of *Egypt*. Perhaps these stately columns were *then* brought from *Alexandria*: their materials certainly are *Egyptian*. They were probably worked by some *Greek* artists resident in that country.

IN relation indeed to many of the embellishments, which *Italy* received under the reign of *Augustus*, and the ministry of *Agrippa*, it may be thought (perhaps with reason) that they were in great measure owing to the circumstance of *Egypt's* being *at that time* united to the *Roman* empire.

HISTORY informs us, that when *Augustus* landed at *Alexandria*, he was struck with the remarkable



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markable beauty and splendor of that city; and expressed great veneration for its founder. Probably he then conceived the noble design of embellishing *Rome* in somewhat of the same manner; that is, of making *Rome* in some respects a second *Alexandria*.

It is observable in regard to *Agrippa*, that this portico is supported by pillars not unworthy to have made part of the most pompous colonnades in the palace of *Cleopatra*. It is remarkable also, that his great subterranean reservoir of water at *Miseno* (which to this day, it is said, subsists entire, and is called the *Piscina mirabilis*) is exactly of the same kind with those which, according to modern travellers, are still remaining at *Alexandria*.

I AM very much of your opinion, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. But *the ancient sovereigns of Memphis and Thebes*, as well as the founder and other more modern princes of *Alexandria*, were authors of several works of national utility and stupendous magnificence; which seem to have drawn the attention and excited the admiration of *Augustus*.

WHILE *Augustus* was in *Egypt*, he began to employ his soldiers in cleansing and repairing the ancient, and in cutting new canals. Most of the  
ancient

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ancient canals were the works of the *kings of Thebes and Memphis.*

*AUGUSTUS*, on his return to *Italy*, imitated, as you observe, in this country the grandeur of *Egypt*. But it was the grandeur not of the *Ptolemies* only, but also of *Menes* and *Osymanduas*. Witness his mausolæum, his *Palatine* library, his temples, and other public structures.

*AUGUSTUS* adorned *Rome* with the obelisks, those most noble specimens of the *primæval* wealth and arts of *Egypt*.

SEVERAL of the *Roman* emperors followed *Augustus's* example. They imported so many obelisks, so many granite columns and statues, as almost to turn *Rome* into an *Egyptian* city.

ON *Wednesday* morning I passed some hours in turning over *Pocock's* and *Norden's* description of *Egypt*. I afterwards walked to the *Villa Negroni*, and sat down on that hillock which is adorned with the colossal statue of *Rome* in the character of *Minerva*. Several aged cypresses encircle that mount. I sat down, and viewed from between the cypresses the solemn prospect of the desolation of the *Viminal* and *Esquiline* hills. At a distance on my left I saw a great obelisk rising among the vineyards, near the *Lateran* cathedral. By the gate of the  
*Negroni*

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*Negroni* garden I saw another *Egyptian* obelisk, which once stood by the mausolæum of *Augustus*, but is now placed before the northern front of *Santa Maria Maggiore*. These objects inclined me then to imagine myself in the neighbourhood of the ruined cities in *Thebais*; *Coptos*, *Tentyra*, or *Syene*.

BUT if a prospect of part of *Rome*, even at this time bears somewhat of an *Egyptian* air; how much greater must the similitude have been in those ages, when every street in *Rome* contained something that was *Egyptian*?

THAT is, replied the young nobleman, still in some degree the case. The only difference seems to be this: Under the *Roman* emperors those *Egyptian* monuments, which adorned the streets of *Rome*, were as entire, as when they stood on the banks of the *Nile*, but at present many of them are broken or buried.

WHAT numbers of *Egyptian* antiquities have been found under the *Dominican* convent, behind this *Pantheon*? In the piazza before it you see a small *Egyptian* obelisk, fronting this portico. But let us not attend to little objects: there are at present in this *Campo Marzo* three great obelisks, which *Augustus* brought from that country. One of them is buried near the church of *St. Rock*: the second  
lies

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lies above ground near the church of *St. Lorenzo*: the third is erected at the *Porta del Popolo*.

I AM very glad, said *Crito's* pupil, that the conversation has turned on this topic. I wish you would permit your coach (which is waiting for you in this piazza) to carry us now to the obelisk at the *Porta del Popolo*. I have a particular reason for desiring this favour.

THE young nobleman, and the rest of the company, readily agreed to this proposal.

IN the way from the *Pantheon* to the *Porta del Popolo* the conversation turned on their intended travels to the *Levant*. They were talking of visiting *Alexandria*, *Grand Cairo* and *Luxor*; when the coach entering the piazza *del Popolo*, their attention was recalled to the magnificence of *Rome*.



THERE is not perhaps any city in the world, the entrance of which is designed with more magnificence, than that of *Rome* by the *Porta del Popolo*. The gate is of the architecture of *Michael Angelo* and *Vignola*: it leads into a piazza, where the two famous *twin-churches* appear in front: between and on each side of these churches are *three* straight and level streets. The street on the right leads to  
the



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the *Ripetta* of the *Tiber*: that in the middle is above a mile in length, runs through the midst of the *Campus Martius*, and is terminated by the buildings on the *Capitoline* hill: the street on the left leads to the grand stair-case in the *piazza di Spagna*, and was intended by *Sixtus Quintus* to have been joined to his long *Strada Felice*, and thus continued quite to the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*, forming one continued straight street of more than two *English* miles and an half in length.

In the midst of the *piazza del Popolo* rises an *Egyptian* obelisk: in the view of which all these three streets nobly terminate.

THE shaft of this obelisk was originally one solid mass of granite. It is eighty-two feet in height: its sides are richly covered with hieroglyphics.

ITS granite basis is between twenty and thirty feet high. The inscription engraven on it, is to this effect: *Imperator Augustus Caesar, Egypto in potestatem populi Romani redactâ, Soli donum dedit.*

THE company stepped out of the coach, and walked up to the obelisk.—While they were standing by the fountain, which flows from its basis, *Crito's* pupil presented a sheet of paper to his tutor. I

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have,

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have, said he, been lately compiling an exercise to be submitted to your correction. It is drawn up in the manner of a vision: I hope you will excuse my folly in the attempt.

*CRITO* received the paper with thanks; cast his eye with pleasure over some part of its contents, and then returned it to his pupil, desiring him to read it to the company.



SOME few nights ago, said his worthy pupil, I dreamt that I was with three of my friends; from whom indeed the thoughts of my heart are hardly ever, whether sleeping or waking, divided: I dreamt that we were standing together in this very place. On a sudden, we saw a female figure before us; a figure, such as we have often observed in antient sculptures or paintings, representing the *Dea Roma*. She was sitting by this fountain.

SHE appeared: but not, as in the times of *Virgil* and *Augustus*, enthroned like the tower-crowned *Cybele*,

——— *Qualis Berecynthia mater,  
Læta Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
Omnes cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes:*

She

Chap. II. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 339

She appeared, as in the *Gothic* ages; prostrate on the ground; despoiled of all her ornaments; and weeping over her dying children, her *sciences* and *arts*.

IN vain was she endeavouring, like the *Medicean Niobe*, to save from the destroyers some one of *these* her numerous and beauteous offspring: some one of these, she said, may be still some consolation to me in the ruin of all my wealth and power.

————— ἰκετεύω δὲ σέ

Μη μοι τὸ τέκνον ἐκ χερῶν ἀποσπάσης,

Μηδὲ κλαυτεῖ τῶν τεθνηκότων αἰς.

Ταυτὴ γέγηθα, καπιληδομαί κκκων\*

Ἡ δ' αὐτὶ πολλῶν ἐστὶ μοι παρὰψυχη\*.

WE stood for some time lamenting over her; when we heard behind us the sound of the string of an harp. I thought at first that it had been the harp of *Spencer* †; but on turning round, we perceived to our great surprize, that the sound proceeded from within the shaft of the obelisk; the top of which seemed just at that time to be illumined and gilded by the rising sun. This sound was succeeded by a voice which seemed also to proceed from within the same obelisk, but which

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was

\* See the *Hecuba* of *Euripides*.

† Vide *Spencer's* Poem on the Ruins of *Rome*, and of Time.

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was far more clear and distinct, than what ever was said to issue from the statue of *Memnon* \*.

“ LAMENT not, it said, the fall of *Rome*, that  
 “ proud but now humbled city: lament not her,  
 “ though once the patroness of learning. Even  
 “ *Thebes* is fallen, that far more glorious city, the  
 “ seat of the great *Hermes*, and original source of  
 “ all science to mankind.

“ BUT bewail not the fall either of *Thebes* or  
 “ *Rome*. Lift up your eyes to the view of the  
 “ history of the whole world in general: and then  
 “ fall prostrate before HIM, whose awful name  
 “ was in our language concealed under that of the  
 “ *divine and immortal OSIRIS*. Thankfully adore  
 “ His Providence; by which science has not been  
 “ always partially confined to one or two coun-  
 “ tries, but has in various ages been appointed to  
 “ visit and bless various regions: and thus per-  
 “ haps, before the consummation of all things, will  
 “ have visited and illumined in its turn every  
 “ country on the face of the earth: even as, that  
 “ most glorious emblem of knowledge, the Sun  
 “ (to

\* The statue of *Memnon* which is still remaining near *Thebes*, is fabulously said to have spoken every morning, as soon as the rays of the rising sun struck on its head. *Strabo*, who pretends that he heard it, says, the sound was like that of the string of an harp.



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" (to whom, and to philosophic literature, this  
" obelisk, of *which I am the Genius*, stands con-  
" secrated) has before the completion of its  
" annual course distributed an equal quantity of  
" light to the nations of every climate, from the  
" equator to both the poles.

" O THAT it was permitted for me to remove  
" the veil that covers the face of the great *Isis*,  
" or to explain to you some fragments of the  
" wisdom of *Egypt*!

" But I, it is true, am the inferior and junior  
" of all the *Genii*, which preside over the great  
" obelisks at *Rome*. Much more properly might  
" I refer you for such instruction to the *Genius* of  
" the *Lateran* (or *Rameffean*) obelisk, which is  
" coæval with the fall of *Troy*: or to the elder  
" *Genius* of the *Vatican*, the work of the son of  
" *Sesostris*: or rather to that obelisk which is by  
" far the most noble and antient of us all, I mean  
" my fellow traveller, and now near neighbour  
" in this *Campus Martius*, the obelisk of the great  
" *Sesostris* himself.

" As for my own age I cannot pretend to any  
" great antiquity, being scarce more than twenty-  
" four hundred years old; which is equal to be-  
" tween seventy and eighty of your transitory ge-  
" nerations.

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"nerations. Yet short as my experience has been,  
"my history may be instructive, at least to you, O  
"ye children of yesterday!

"I WAS born in the dregs of time, in the last  
"age of the long *Ægyptian* history. If my me-  
"mory does not fail me, it was in the reign of  
"Psammiticus or Amasis, (about coæval with some  
"of the first kings of *Rome*) that I came out of  
"our common mother's womb, the ancient ca-  
"vern of the granite rock of *Syene*,

"I WAS formed into my present shape by the  
"directions of the inhabitants of the neighbouring  
"sacred island; the island of *Phila*, famous for  
"the sepulchral temple of the great *Isis*. As soon  
"as my sides were adorned with these sacred cha-  
"racters, (which still remain so fresh) I was float-  
"ed down the *Nile* from the cataracts to those  
"level meadows of *Heliopolis*, which are at present  
"the suburbs of *Grand Cairo*. At *Heliopolis* I stood  
"no more than six or seven centuries, being re-  
"moved from thence to *Rome*, where I have been  
"now scarce eighteen hundred years,

"HAVING been originally consecrated to phi-  
"losophic literature, it has been my chief plea-  
"sure to contemplate the variations, the rise and  
"decline of science in the various places and va-  
"rious ages of my life.

"IN

" IN my first voyage from *Syene* to *Heliopolis*,  
 " I remember, that in passing by *Thebes* and  
 " *Memphis*, I heard much complaint of the de-  
 " cline of the wisdom and virtue of *Egypt*, and  
 " many (soon too fatally verified) prognostications  
 " of the speedy fall of that great state; that state,  
 " which in the glory of the antiquity of its his-  
 " tory, in the glory of its universal reputation for  
 " wisdom and learning, and particularly for (that  
 " its peculiar honour) the invention of all arts and  
 " sciences, was far superior to any other country  
 " which the sun ever saw.

Χαίρε, Χαίρε, Αἰγυπτίῳ ἡ Σπεύσασα με\*.

" ON my arrival at *Heliopolis* I was visited and  
 " attentively viewed by the learned men of se-  
 " veral foreign regions, who were then travelling  
 " in *Egypt*.

" THOSE travellers who were come from the  
 " *Euphrates*, and were natives of the *East*, spoke  
 " (as the *Ægyptians*) of the decline of literature  
 " in their countries. Whereas other strangers  
 " from the *North* and *West* (three particularly,  
 " whose names I remember were *Thales*, *Solon*,  
 " and *Pythagoras*) joyfully expressed their hopes,  
 " that science was arising in *Greece* and its colo-

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" nies.

\* Vide Epitaphium Ifidis apud Diodorum Siculum.

"nies. It was at that time, indeed, that the  
 " *Ionians* began to have access into *Egypt*; and  
 " from thence derived their philosophy, astro-  
 " nomy, and geometry.

" THE same observation I heard in succeeding  
 " ages still more and more confirmed, by the con-  
 " versation of several *Grecians*; who, during the  
 " *Persian* government, visited the banks of the  
 " *Nile*; particularly *Herodotus* and *Hippocrates*,  
 " *Eudoxus* and *Plato*. How often did that last  
 " great man walk round my basis, measure my  
 " several proportions, and diligently study all the  
 " philosophic inscriptions on my fides?

" THE visits of these illustrious *Grecians* were  
 " my greatest comfort during the first three cen-  
 " turies of my life: most part of which time was  
 " past under the *Persian* government. How fre-  
 " quently did I then wish for some *Athenian*  
 " ΕΧΑΤΟΝΤΟΡΟΝ, or some vaster vessel, (such as were  
 " afterwards seen in *Egypt*, under the reigns of  
 " the *Grecian* kings) to remove me to their coun-  
 " try, then the most glorious seat of science, and  
 " to place me in the grove of *Academos*, or be-  
 " fore the temple of the goddess of Wisdom in  
 " the *Acropolis*; or in some other sacred or philo-  
 " sophical part of that famous city of the *Egyptian*  
 " *Cecrops*?

" UNEX-



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“ UNEXPECTEDLY a great revolution happened in learning as well as in empire. *Egypt* was delivered from its *Persian* tyrants, the successors of the cursed *Cambyfes*; and *Greece* was torn in pieces by the successors of *Alexander* the Great. All its arts and sciences fled then for refuge, as its gods did formerly during the wars of the *Titans*.

“ *Ceruleum in gremium, latebroſaque flumina Nili.*

“ *EGYPT*, their original parent, became now their protectress; and the *Ptolomies*, in patronizing learning, began to rival the glories of our ancient *Thebaic* and *Memphitic* sovereigns.

“ WITH what pleasure did I then frequently see on the banks of the *Nile*, *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, and *Callimachus*; and those far more exalted characters, *Conon*, *Euclid*, and *Archimedes*? But above all, *Demetrius Phalereus*, the real author of the musæum and library of *Alexandria* which honoured *Egypt* almost as much as that of *Osymanduas*. Happy *Alexandria*, if thy princes had added virtue to their love of science, and consequently stability to the happiness of themselves and of their people!

“ WHY should I relate what I saw during the next five hundred years? Carried away captive

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" from my native country, I had at least the satisf-  
" faction of entering *Rome* in the *Augustan* age,  
" when all sciences were here most flourishing.

" BUT I soon found that human greatness is  
" equally short and transitory in all parts of the  
" earth: in some very few ages, knowledge and  
" power declined and expired here also.

" BUT why should I repeat, what is the subject  
" of much melancholy meditation to all travellers,  
" who view here the mingled ruins of the arts of  
" *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Rome*; and sometimes drop  
" a tear on the broken colossal statues of the *Tiber*  
" and *Nile*, which (not without reason) are joined  
" together, both on the *Vatican* and *Capitoline*  
" hills?

" THE storms, which laid waste the *Roman*  
" empire, came first from the north. I remem-  
" ber the dreadful thunderings and blackness,  
" with which they approached this country,  
" threatening its desolation. The land before them  
" was then beautiful, beautiful as the land of  
" *Egypt*: behind them an howling wilderness.

" SOON the tempest became general. *Alaric*  
" burst from the north. Not forty years after-  
" wards came *Genferic* (the revenger of old *Car-*  
" *thage*) from the south. In the following cen-  
" tury

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" tury *Totilas* made a fresh irruption from the  
" north.

" How different were those days of terror and  
" of darkness from the calm and benign seasons  
" which shone upon this city in the *Augustan*  
" age?

" IN those repeated hurricanes or typhoons, all  
" the *Egyptian* obelisks at *Rome* (except the for-  
" tunate *Vatican*) bowed our venerable heads to  
" the dust: like a grove of tall *Thebaic* palms,  
" torn up by whirlwinds driving from the de-  
" serts of *Lybia* or *Æthiopia*.

" WE lay buried, and with us all the arts and  
" sciences of the west for near a thousand years."

SOME confusion now rose in my ideas, accord-  
ing to the usual incoherency of dreams. The  
figure of the *Dea Roma* was vanished from our  
sight: the *Genius* of the obelisk seemed however  
still to be continuing his history.

" DURING the long thousand years of my in-  
" terment, the chief remains of the learning of  
" *Europe* were preserved in its native spot, the do-  
" minions of *Greece*. It was also some consola-  
" tion to me in my grave to be informed (the  
" race of the *Genii* communicate and receive in-  
" formation

“ formation by many methods inexplicable to human ears) that the learning of *Asia* and *Africa* was under the *Arabian Caliphs*, then reviving in their native seats, the banks of the *Euphrates*, and of my beloved *Nile*.

“ BUT the violence of the *Turkish* arms drove them all again westward.

“ ON the revival of arts and sciences in the west, many of the *Egyptian* obelisks at *Rome* (as if we were become the *Talismans* of science for *Italy*) arose from the dust.

“ We were re-erected by *Sixtus Quintus*. At that time I thought the *Augustan* age was in some measure returned hither. I saw that pope imitate *Agrippa* in the useful work of his fountains and aqueducts, and in the noble structure of the dome of *St. Peter's*, built nearly with the same dimensions as those of the *Pantheon*: I saw him imitate *Augustus*, in adorning this city by various embellishments, and in forming that great repository of literature at the *Vatican*, which is almost as famous in modern times as the *Palatine* or *Alexandrian* were in former ages.

“ BUT now again I begin to hear of the decline of science in *Italy*. Science is said to be  
“ far



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" far more flourishing on the other side of the  
" *Alps*, in some of your western regions of *Europe*:  
" it is said to be likely to travel still further  
" westward; to those distant countries beyond the  
" *Atlantic* ocean, which I suppose are the same  
" with the famous great islands, about which I  
" remember to have heard the priests of *Sais* dis-  
" coursing with *Plato*.

" PERHAPS by some future generation I shall  
" be removed from my present basis; and em-  
" barked on a voyage to the shores of that western  
" world, to adorn the streets of some stately city,  
" the foundations of which are not yet laid.

" SOME of the descendants of your great grand-  
" children may perhaps see me there. But your  
" eyes, O ye present youthful generation, will  
" soon be closed: your bones, with the coffins  
" which shall contain them, will be soon reduced  
" to dust: O how short do the days of man ap-  
" pear to me! The time of your existence is as  
" nothing.——

THE *Genius* of the obelisk now proceeded to  
some further reflections on the brevity of human  
life.——But I am not able properly to repeat  
them to the company. From my lips they will  
found merely like common-place reflections: as  
spoken

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spoken by the obelisk, you may imagine they had a much more powerful effect.

CRITO's pupil now rolled up his paper; and to prevent any compliments from his friends, (who he knew would be *partial* in his favour) proposed to step into the coach again.

THE young nobleman told the coachman to drive to the church of St. *Lorenzo*.

IN the way to that part of the *Campus Martius*, the eldest of the young gentlemen conversed much with his noble friend on the successive rise and fall of many seats of science, *Thebes*, *Memphis*, *Alexandria*, *Babylon*, *Athens*, and *Rome*: not without bestowing on his own country the fond patriotic wish, *Esto perpetua!* Words worthy to be the dying speech of a better person.

HE was repeating those two words with emphatic warmth, when the coach stopt. *Crito* then led the company into a little back court, in which they saw that obelisk, to which, as to an eternal monument, the great *Sesostris* in some measure intrusted the preservation of the history of his glory; inscribing on it the extent of his empire, and the number of his tributary nations. They saw it overturned; broken in several fragments; half covered with human dung; and proportionally in

as

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as low a state of ruin and humiliation as the glory of its founder was ever exalted : that proud and insolent man, who so arrogantly stiled himself, *king of kings*, and *lord of lords*.

TWO of its sides are entirely maimed and obliterated by fire : injuries repeatedly received in the times of *Cambyfes*, *Totilas*, and *Robert of Normandy*. On the other two sides and on its top are several inscriptions and figures, which may justly be thought the most ancient sculptures extant in the whole world \*. They are of such excellent workmanship as plainly to demonstrate that the *Greek* and *Roman* art of sculpture was founded on the primæval arts of *Egypt*. These figures and inscriptions have been, for many centuries past, utterly unintelligible.

THE same fate attends all the other monuments in *Upper Egypt*. For though their materials and fabric seem capable of an eternal duration, yet owing to this defect, they have not been able to preserve with certitude even the names of most of their founders.—These were the reflections of the young nobleman.

PERHAPS,

\* The extreme antiquity of this obelisk will appear to the reader in a stronger light, when he recollects, that it was hewn into its present shape before any of the Pyramids were built. According to *Pliny*, this obelisk was the work of *Sesostris* : and according to all the *Greek* historians, *Sesostris* was prior in antiquity to *Cheops*, *Cephren*, or any of the builders of the pyramids.

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PERHAPS, added he, the time may come when that *Latin* inscription (which *Augustus* has engraved on this basis, and which seems as fresh as if the sculptor had finished it but last week \*) may be grown as unintelligible as these hieroglyphic characters.

WHILE the young nobleman was expressing these sentiments, *Crito* stood for some time in silence, fixing his eyes on the vast ruins of the shaft of the obelisk.

Is not this, said he, a strong emblem of the vanity of the greatest human grandeur? Such is become the monument and memorial of the proudest of kings! How awful is this spectacle? and how instructive, instructive not only to the philosophic moralist, but even to the most humble and mortified saint!

BUT what, (continued he, after another short but solemn pause) what is become of the empire of *Egypt* itself?

RUINED, like this obelisk; and fallen never to rise again.

AN

\* This inscription on the basis of this obelisk is to the same effect as that on the basis of the obelisk at the *Porta del Popolo*.



AN example for ever to mankind, that no excellence of situation, (for *Egypt* was almost as well situated as any *island*) no degree of populousness or power, of wealth or science, is able to secure a nation from ruin and perpetual servitude; whenever, (as was the case in the decline of *Egypt*) the people shall for the love of luxury quit the love of virtue; and the governors shall think wisdom to be consistent with self-interest and pride: thus despising God, and injuring mankind; instead of labouring with joy, as benefactors to their fellow-creatures, and as dutiful servants to their great and common CREATOR.

SAYING this, *Crito* looked with his usual kindness on his pupil, and repeated to him the following most poetic lines of the *Hebrew* prophet; leaving him to judge, to which of the great modern cities of the world they might be most applicable.

*Art thou better than the populous city of Ammon?*

*She that was seated among the waters.*

*The river of Egypt was her defence.*

*The sea was her dominion and riches.*

*Lybia and Afric were her helpers:*

*Æthiopia and Egypt were her infinite strength.*

*Yet even she went into captivity:*

*Even she was destroyed utterly.*

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O MY dear pupil, though I am no prophet, yet let me contemplate in imagination the *probable* history of future ages.

Two thousand years hence, some foreigners will perhaps be going up the *Thames* in search of antiquities in the same manner as *Norden* lately went up the *Nile*.

SAILING by the ruins of *Greenwich*, they will look to *Flamstead's* hill; they will recollect the name of *Newton*, and of other ancient *English* astronomers: *How is this island degenerated?* they will perhaps add; *it has not at present one school of mathematics, or natural philosophy, in any of its provinces.*

ROWING then along the wide-spread desolation of *London*, they will pass through some arches of its broken bridges standing in the middle of the stream. On the grassy shore they will view with admiration the still remaining portico of *St. Paul's*, and perhaps one of the towers of *Westminster Abbey*. They will land there; and be shewn the pool of water, where *Westminster Hall*, and the Parliament Houses stood. They will enquire in vain for *St. James's* palace; in searching for it in a wrong place, they will accidentally discover the portico of *St. Martin's* (then again) in the  
Fields;

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*Fields*; they will find its columns half buried in the earth.

IF they continue their voyage up the *Thames*, they will pass close by the situation of the brick palace at *Hampton-Court*, without knowing it. Advanced some leagues further, they will see from their boat the stately remains of *Windsor-Castle*: but they will not perhaps venture to land, for fear of falling into the hands of the wild inhabitants of the neighbouring woods. The same fear will damp their desire and design of venturing so far as to the much celebrated, but little known, ruins of *Oxford*.

Do you really think, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the *English* will ever grow as wild as the *Arabs* or the *Nubians*?

It is by no means impossible, replied *Crito*; length of time, and variety of events, may gradually produce such a change. The *English* nation two thousand years hence may very possibly be in the same state of savage barbarism, in which it is said to have been two thousand years ago:

*Rursus & in veterem fato revoluta figuram*

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BUT let us think of retiring to our lodgings. The sun is set, and the dangerous evening damps of this country begin to make themselves felt. Let us take care, what care we can, of these our frail bodies. Notwithstanding all our care, they will (as you, my dear pupil, have reminded us) soon be dissolved into their original dust.

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C H A P. III.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*Cedes coemptis saltubus, & domo,  
Villâque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit:  
Cedes, & extructis in altum  
Divitiis potietur hæres.*

*Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho  
Nil interest an pauper, & infimâ  
De gente sub dio moreris,  
Victima nil miserantis Orci.*

*Omnes eodem cogimur; omnium  
Versatur urnâ seriùs ocyùs  
Sors exitura, &c.*

THE mausolæum of *Augustus* was built in the *Campus Martius*; fronting (though at some distance) the *Panttheon* of *Agrippa*. It was of a circular shape, and nearly of the same size with that noble temple.

THE walls, though not the roof, of this mausolæum, are still remaining. The circular space within

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within the walls is one hundred and seventy feet in diameter, and is at present a garden filled with orange trees and other fragrant evergreens.

IN this garden *Crito* was sitting with his pupil in the morning of *June 19<sup>th</sup>*, and attending to him while reading the above lines of *Horace*; when seeing the other two young gentlemen enter the gate, he rose to meet them.

BEFORE the company began their usual morning lecture, they took several turns together around and across the garden.

AFTER some agreeable talk on various subjects, *Crito's* pupil led their attention to the beauty of the flowers, and of the shrubs among which they were walking.—These, said he, are at present the only ornaments remaining of this imperial mausoleum. Perhaps some of these plants may be the descendants of those which flourished here in the times of *Strabo* \*. Such chearfully-looking plants and flowers seem indeed not improper embellishments for the mansions of death.

I HAVE

\* Αξιολογώτατον το Μουσολειον καλεσμενον, επι κρητιδος λευκο λιθου προς τω ποταμω χωμα, αχρι κορυφης τοις αιθιδεσι των δανδρων κατηξοφει. Lib. v. p. 236.

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATION. 359

I HAVE often thought, while walking in the neat church-yard belonging to my father's village, that it is right to take such methods of abating the gloominess of the grave, and of softening its natural horror.

THESE fragrant myrtles, these shining-leaved laurels, may be considered, as if planted here on purpose to serve as *emblems of the memory of the departed*. They may be considered also, as representing the *immortality* of the soul.

I COULD wish, my dear pupil, replied *Crito*, that among your poetic works at *Rome*, you would favour me with an ode to *Euthanasia*, or (if you have a mind to express that idea by another phrase) the *Genius of good Death*.

IN relation to mortality in general, *Horace* will suggest to you several elegant reflections; though I do not suppose, you will chuse to follow his path of thought, in the inferences which he usually draws from those reflections.

You may find other classical assistance. *Virgil* sometimes considered death in a much better light than *Horace*: for (notwithstanding *Horace's* many social virtues) *Virgil* was certainly a much better man. You will recollect, I am sure with pleasure,

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the lines of the fourth Æneid, in which *Iris* is described as engaged in the benign and gracious office of the Genius of death.

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,  
Difficilesque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,  
Quæ luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.—  
Ergo Iris croceis per cælum rascida pennis  
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores  
Devolvat, & suprà caput astitit : Hunc ego diti  
Sacrum jussa sero, teque isto corpore solvo.*

You will wish, for the sake of the greater propriety of this passage, that *Dido's* life had been more virtuous, and her death in particular much more holy. In such a case, this beautiful description of *Iris* would have answered your ideas of a guardian angel descending from heaven to release a soul struggling in her last agonies of mortality, and to disengage her from her encumbering dust.

INDEED, when you contemplate those consolations and overflowing joys, which make the hour of death most sweet to good men, you will (I should apprehend) disdain to draw up your ode in the mean stile of heathen poetry: you will much more gladly follow the soaring ideas of some Christian writers:



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writers: you will dedicate your ode, not to the *Genius*, but to the *Angel of good death*.

YOU will paint that angel descending in radiant splendor to visit the couch of the expiring saint. You will place round that couch Charity, Hope, and true Faith with her cross.

—— *ea sola voluptas,  
Solamenque mali.*

YOU will perhaps attempt to describe the departing spirit just freed from its flesh, and following this blessed company in their re-ascent to heaven. You may form some happy and pious ideas, fit for that purpose, from the picture (which our noble young friend lately taught us to admire in the *Capitoline gallery*) the *Anima Beata* of Guido \*.

I SHOULD be very glad, replied the modest youth, to obey your commands. But the subject is too good, and too great. I cannot venture on it. Such an ode would be a very proper conclusion and crown to the labours of a pious grey-headed poet;

\* Le dessein de la figure est de la plus grande correction: sur son visage brille cette sérénité, cette douce satisfaction, que l'on doit trouver aux approches d'un bonheur inaltérable.—C'est une des compositions les plus sçavantes du Guide—l'action en est très-simple, & en même tems très-poétique. Abbe Richard. v. 6. p. 27.

poet; whose long life has been spent in following the dictates of true faith and charity, and in looking forward to its end with devout hope. But I am neither worthy nor capable of the employment. It is much better to be silent, than to talk on so important a topic in a trifling and improper manner; as I certainly should do.

THE company now sat down near a spreading orange-tree. They admired its beauty. The eldest of the young gentlemen began to make a comparison between this plant, the branches of which were loaded at once with the productions of *all* the seasons in the year, buds, flowers, and fruit; and this mausolæum, which has the honour of containing the remains of many worthies who died young, middle-aged, and old, in all the various seasons of human life.

HAPPY is it for you, my dear young friends, replied *Crito*, that there are none of these productions (whether on the tree, or gathered) sweeter than the bud. *Marcellus's* virtue, both in life and death, was full as sweet and lovely as that of *Agrippa* himself,

\* \* \*

MARCELLUS.

MARCELLUS.

*Nor love thy life, nor hate. But what thou liv'st,  
Live well. How long or short, permit to heav'n.*

MILTON.

**M**ARCELLUS, nephew and son-in-law to *Augustus*, and his declared successor to the imperial throne of *Rome*, was suddenly removed by death from all this possession and prospect of grandeur. He was cropt in the very flower of his youth, when scarce twenty years of age.

YET had he made so good an use of his time, as to have then already gained the affection and esteem of mankind to a very considerable degree.

FOR, though during the age of *Augustus*, (which was certainly in some respects a very splendid epocha of the *Roman* history) several truly great characters appeared; some of which (*Agrippa's* in particular) may more justly demand our admiration; yet none of them has been regarded, either in that or in succeeding times, with such general love, as the memory of this amiable young man.

AMOR

*AMOR erat populi Romani.*

IN thinking of the amiable character and immature fate of *Marcellus*, I have often, said the young nobleman, recollected Prince *Henry*, elder brother of *Charles* the First. But pray proceed.

IN meditating on the character of *Marcellus*, replied *Crito*, I have often also recollected some modern characters: particularly one of a young nobleman of my acquaintance. May his life be much longer than that of *Marcellus*: but may he continue to resemble him in every other particular! For *Marcellus's* person was naturally very beautiful: it was improved in gracefulness as well as strength by his perfection in all youthful exercises.

HIS mind was still more great and noble. *Animo alacer erat: ingenio potens.*

BUT these qualifications, whether of *body* or of *understanding*, were but trifling in comparison of those of his *heart*. *Adolescens patiens erat laboris; voluptatibus alienus; frugalitatis & continentie in illis aut annis aut opibus non mediocriter admirandus;*

ALL



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ALL his actions were full of wisdom, of courage, of modesty, of affability, of kindness.

THERE WAS nothing indeed kind or good, which *Augustus's* subjects did not hope from *Marcellus's* government. *Fortunæ erat, in quam alebatur, capax.*

No wonder, that his bier was followed by such general lamentations.

*Mater Octavia nullum finem per omne vitæ suæ tempus flendi gemendique fecit. Lugubrem vestem nunquam deposuit. Intenta in unam rem (memoriam scilicet carissimi filii) & toto animo affixa, talis per omnem vitam fuit qualis in funere.*

BUT *Augustus* suffered by this great loss in a double capacity; as a relation, and as a Roman.

*In Marcellum enim Augustus incumbere cæperat: in Marcellum onus imperii reclinare. Laturus enim erat Marcellus quantumcunque illi avunculus imponere, & ut ita dicam inædificare voluisset. Bene enim legerat nulli cessura ponderi fundamenta.*

THIS eulogium was drawn by the pen of *Seneca* \*, many years after the death of *Marcellus*,  
when

\* Consol. ad Martiam.

when there could be no temptation for any court-flattery to his memory. It greatly confirms the truth of many passages, which we find in the poets of the *Augustan age*, relative to *Marcellus's* merit.

I REMEMBER some passages of that kind in *Horace's* works. Perhaps there may be some also in *Ovid*. *Virgil* (as my pupil thinks) seems to have shadowed out the amiable character of *Marcellus* under those of *Pallas* and *Euryalus*: however that may be, he certainly introduces an express most noble panegyrick on his memory in those famous verses of the sixth *Æneid*, which seem to have been breathed forth with the spirit of the most sincere grief, as well as of the sweetest poetry.

THE grief of *Augustus* seems indeed to have been really shadowed out under that of *Anchises* in those lines.

——— *Manibus date lilia plenis*  
*Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis*  
*His saltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani*  
*Munere.*

*AUGUSTUS* honoured *Marcellus's* memory with the most solemn funeral rites; he spoke himself the funeral oration. He spoke it, *non quidem*  
*solitâ*

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*solitâ suâ promptâ ac profluenti eloquentiâ* \*; doubtless it was interrupted by frequent sighs and groans, rising as well from the surrounding multitude, as from the orator's own breast.

AUGUSTUS then with his own hands placed the urn in *this* mausolæum. He had built this beautiful mausolæum for the reception of the urns of his family, and friends. He in particular had declared, that he would not even after his death be separated from those two persons, *Agrippa* and *Marcellus*, whom in his life he had so highly esteemed, and so tenderly loved †.



THE eldest of the young gentlemen now fixed his eyes on the ground, and seemed busy in some recollection.

PARDON me, said he, for interrupting you, by introducing a topic in some measure foreign from your present discourse. *Voltaire* (in that part of his *Henriade*, where he describes the spirit of *St. Lewis* shewing to *Henry* the Fourth all the yet unborn heroes and worthies of the *French* nation) has  
very

\* *Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. c. 3.*

† See *Doi. p. 541.*

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very closely imitated this passage in *Virgil*, and very properly applied it to that amiable youthful prince the Duke of *Burgundy*.

*Quel est ce jeune prince, en qui la Majesté  
Sur son visage amiable éclate sans fierté ?  
D'un œil d'indifference il regarde le Trône.  
Ciel ! quelle nuit soudaine a mes yeux l'environne !  
La Mort autour de lui vole sans s'arrêter.*

*Il tombe aux pieds du Trône, étant prêt d'y monter.*

*O mon fils, des François vous voyez le plus juste :  
Les cieux le formeront de votre sang auguste.  
Grands Dieux ! ne faites vous que montrer aux  
humains*

*Cette fleur passagere, ouvrage de vos mains ?  
Helas ! que n'eut point fait cette ame vertueuse ?  
La France sous son regne eut été trop heureuse.  
Il eut entretenu l'abondance & la paix :  
Mon fils ! Il eut compté ses jours par ses bienfaits.  
Il eut aimé son peuple. —*

— O jours remplis d'alarmes

*O combien les François vont repandre des larmes,  
Quand sous le même tombe ils verront réunis  
Et l'époux & la femme, & la mere & le fils !*

WHEN I was at *Paris* I took frequent morning airings in my chaise towards *Vincennes* and *St. Dennis*: and in those airings read over these lines of *Voltaire* so often as to imprint them thoroughly on my memory.



*LOUIS le Grand* is said to have been in several respects a second *Augustus*. They were both examples certainly of the vanity and weakness of the greatest human grandeur. *Louis* strongly resembled *Augustus* in his family misfortunes at that melancholy time, when so many funeral cars were closely following each other along the avenue leading to *St. Dennis*; bearing the beloved Duke of *Burgundy*, and many others of the royal family.

PERMIT me, said *Crito*, to read to you from my papers of notes some elegant verses of *Albinovanus* relative to these misfortunes of *Augustus*. Far am I from recommending his poem in general to your perusal: (the flattery of some parts of it is very impious) but only some extracts from it. They seem to have been composed by *Albinovanus* on this very spot, where we are now conversing.

*Condidit Agrippam quo te Marcelle sepulchro*

*Et cepit generos jam locus iste duos.*

*Vix posito Agrippâ tumuli bene janua clausa est*

*Perficit officium funeris ecce soror.*

*Ecce ter ante datis jactura novissima Drusus*

*A magno lacrymas Cæsare quartus habet.*

*Claudite jam, Parcæ, nimum reserata sepulchra!*

*Claudite! plus justo jam domus ista patet.*

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*CRITO's* pupil now rose from his seat, and took a short turn by himself in the garden.

THE company followed him. How often, my dear friends, said he to them, have we surveyed together the sepulchres of our *English* princes in *Westminster Abbey*? How often have we stood by the monument of *Edward's* royal consort? How often have we walked over the dust of that excellent queen *Matilda*; who lies near *Edward* the Confessor's tomb, tho' without any grave-stone to mark the place. Scarce less pleasing is the melancholy which now spreads itself over the mind, while we are recollecting the amiable characters of several persons *here* interred? I mean those eminently virtuous princes, whose names you just now mentioned, and who sleep under the orange-trees and beds of flowers, among which we are now walking. Let us not survey this garden with a careless eye, nor tread it inattentively. Perhaps under these dew-besprinkled violets the good *Octavia* may be reposing.

*Gentle Lady, may thy grave,  
Peace and honour ever have.*

YOU remember, my dear friend, the description of that beautiful myrtle which flourished from  
the

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the tomb of *Aristonous* \*; perhaps in some of these myrtles *Agrippa's* ashes may really vegetate.

PERHAPS that sweet half-opened rose, to which you were just now smelling without cropping it, may have its root in the urn of *Drusus* or *Germanicus*.

*CRITO's* pupil now took out of his pocket a small volume of *English* poems, and read to the company the following lines.

*Perhaps unknowing of the bloom it gives  
In yon fair scyon of Apollo's tree  
The sacred dust of young Marcellus lives.  
Pluck not the leaf: 'twere sacrilege to wound  
Th' ideal memory of so sweet a shade.  
In these sad seats an early grave he found,  
And the first rites to gloomy Dis conveyed.*

B b 2

O lost

\* See the charming adventures of *Aristonous* which are generally printed at the end of those of *Telemachus*.

*Une myrte d'une verdure & d'une odeur exquise naquit au milieu du tombeau, & éleva sa tête touffue pour couvrir les deux urnes de ses rameaux & de son ombre. Chacun s'écria qu' Aristonous en récompense de sa vertu avoit été changé par les Dieux en un arbre si beau. Sophronime prit soin de l'arroser lui-même, & de l'honorer comme une divinité. Cet arbre loin de vieillir se renouvelle de dix ans en dix ans: & les Dieux ont voulu faire voir par cette merveille que la vertu, qui jette un si doux parfum dans la mémoire des hommes, ne meurt jamais.*

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*O lost too soon! Yet why lament a fate  
By thousands envy'd, and by heav'n approv'd\*?*

SUCH lamentations are indeed very improper: as I remember my father observed to my mother some years ago, when they were recovering from their deep affliction on the death of my good younger brother. Man, (said he as he was sitting with her near my brother's picture) short-sighted man ought to adore with reverence and thankfulness all the wise and gracious disposals of Providence. We see indeed frequently removed from this world in early youth those persons who seem likely to do great good and to enjoy great happiness here. Yet let us not complain too much: we are certain that good persons are much happier in the other world than in this: and we may be confident, that GOD will never want instruments of his beneficence here. In saying these words, my father kindly took me and my little sister in his arms.

CRITO now cast a look of affectionate tenderness on his pupil; and how much more pleasing, said he, are your ideas than those on which I was ruminating?

I was imagining, *that I saw Augustus* bear the urn of *Marcellus* into this mausolæum.

WITH

\* *Unde scis an diutius illi vivere expedierit? An illi hæc morte consultum?* (SENECA ad Martiam.)



WITH what earnestness must *Augustus* then have secretly wished, that he had lived and died like *Marcellus*? How deeply in the bitterness of conscience, must he then have reflected on the great difference of his own youthful years, from those of his happy nephew?

THE extreme wickedness of *Augustus's* youth, must always have been a most heavy burthen on his mind. It is true, that there were some alleviations of this otherwise intolerable weight: it is true, that for the last forty years of his life, he was diligent in doing good.

SEVERAL political writers imagine the whole life of *Augustus* to have been ruled by one mean principle, the scheme of obtaining and securing to himself the sovereign authority: that the crimes of his youth were perpetrated to obtain this power, and that the good works of his later years were performed merely to secure himself in it. But an ecclesiastic can scarce be of that opinion; he cannot think it possible, that any man, engaged in a long course of beneficence, (though perhaps he might enter on that course not from the best motives) should be able to avoid being at length captivated by a *sincere* love of virtue, and, converted to it from his *heart*.

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WITH pleasure let us recollect some of the many instances of beneficence, with which the years of *Augustus's* manhood and old age were adorned.

He encouraged *population*; that first work of a good government. *Neceſſe eſt enim, ut naſcantur homines, priuſquàm felices fiant.*

He was ambitious to ſupport the general *peace* of mankind. *Janum quater clauſit.*

He wiſely placed the glory of his government in works of beneficence. Through how many cities have we travelled, which were built by *Augustus*? How often have we met with remains of his other public ſtructures? Let us recollect what were our ſentiments on this ſubject when at *Treves* or *Augsburg*; when at *Autun* or *Turin*; and ſince our arrival in *Italy*, while travelling along the ſea coaſt near *Rimini* and *Pefaro*,

IN theſe great works of national utility, *Augustus* ſeems to have imitated the generoſity and public ſpirit of his noble friend and counſellor *Agrippa*.

I REMEMBER, ſaid the young nobleman, ſome of the reflections with which you favoured us in viſiting *Augustus's* bridge at *Narni*. You there

there compared *Augustus* in those works to a late emperor of *China*.

THAT *Chinese* emperor, replied *Crito*, was in several respects a very worthy prince: he was a protector of the Christians\*. But let us at present confine ourselves to *Augustus*.

MUCH of the felicity, which was enjoyed by mankind in this part of the world, during *Augustus's* reign, is doubtless to be attributed to his beneficent government. It conveyed many blessings to the inhabitants of this city, and of this country, and probably also to all the provinces and allies of the *Roman* empire.

LET me with particular pleasure observe, that *Augustus* enacted several laws tending to the reformation of manners: that he very diligently and mercifully himself administered justice: that he was also very careful in preserving public plenty; according to that boasted maxim of *Venetian* policy: *Giustizia sempre in palazzo, e pane in piazza*.

B b 4

THAT

\* The emperor *Cambi* (who died in 1722) in his last testament congratulated himself on the vast sums he had expended during his reign in making new canals, new dykes, new roads, and other public works. In looking over his accounts he had found to his great joy, that the whole sums he had expended on his own palace, did not amount to the hundredth part of what he had laid out in works of utility to his subjects.

Political Annals of Abbé St. Pierre. 1725.

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THAT *Augustus* greatly promoted *literature*, is perhaps comparatively but a *trifling* consideration. For as in private life it will be much more laudable for you, my dear pupil, to be daily employed in giving bread to the poor families in your neighbourhood, than to be amusing yourself in your library by the prosecution of any learned or elegant composition; so in the occupations of a prince, the support of public plenty is ten thousand times more useful and truly honourable than the patronage of learning.

ON entering this garden about half an hour ago, said the young nobleman, I stopt for some moments to look at the antique statue of *Plenty*, which stands by the door, with her cornucopiæ. My political friend, who was with me, thought that statue very fortunately and properly placed at the entrance of *Augustus's* mausolæum.

I REMEMBER very well, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, turning to *Crito's* pupil, the *Venetian* proverb, which your good tutor mentions. I thought frequently of it during our voyage from *Venice* to *Pola*.

How pleasantly, replied *Crito's* pupil, did we pass our time at *Pola*? We sat down, I remember, between the four columns of the portico of that temple which is inscribed, *ROMÆ & Augusto*  
*Cæsari*



*Cæsari Patri Patriæ.* You there employed an hour in perusing (not without some tears of pleasure) the account given by *Suetonius* of the many testimonies of ardent affection which *Augustus* received from his grateful people. The inhabitants of *Rome*, the busy multitudes which then swarmed in the cities of *Italy*, and over every part of its fruitful hills and plains, all united in the love of their sovereign. The other subjects of the *Roman* empire, settled in the various continents of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Afric*, all joined their justly-merited thanks for his goodness in *bene gerendâ per terrarum orbem republicâ*.

THE navigators of the *Mediterranean*, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, were not less sensible of the general happiness. As the whole circuit of its shores was then subject to *Rome*, and as the whole *Roman* empire was then united in peace under *Augustus*, commerce consequently had in general no enemy to fear. The fleets stationed by *Augustus* at *Frejus*, *Miseno*, and *Ravenna*, were always ready to suppress any unforeseen troubles.

THE greatest branch of the *Roman* commerce was that with *Egypt*\*. *Augustus* seems to have given peculiar attention to its cultivation and improvement. I think *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus* in

\* See the late edition of *Harris's* voyages, book i. chap. 2. sections 8, 9, 10.

in the last year of his reign visited the sea-coast at *Baia* and *Puteoli*. He went thither perhaps with some small expectation, that the waters might be of service to a constitution naturally weak, and then particularly enfeebled by a distemper, which (together with the weight of years) was sinking him to his grave. During his residence there, he must have found great amusement in viewing the *Lucrine* port, and the haven near *Miseno*, the works of his departed friend *Agrippa*; works, in which indeed they were *both* engaged during very troublesome times. But while *Augustus* was thus amusing himself, a large ship from *Alexandria* came into the harbour with full sails\*.

THE crew, hearing that their emperor was then in that port, gladly seized this opportunity of expressing their loyalty and gratitude to him, under whose mild and wise government peace and commerce had long flourished. *Per illum se vivere: per illum navigare; libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.*

WITH what pleasure must *Augustus* have listened to those acclamations? With what sparkling eyes must he have seen the mariners hanging garlands  
of

\* In relation to the appearance of the *Alexandrian* ships, when entering the harbour of *Baia*, see *Seneca's* Epist. 77.

*Gratus illarum (navium Alexandrinarum) Campaniæ aspectus est; omnis in pilis Puteolorum turba consistit, &c.*

of flowers on the prow, on the poop, on all the masts, and yard-arms of their vessel; while the smooth haven of *Baie* echoed to the sound of their harps and flutes? From the deck a cloud of incense arose to heaven, offered for the preservation of their sovereign's life, and for the long continuance of his benign reign.

PARDON me for troubling you with the repetition of this story. Indeed, whenever I recollect it, I am sensible of fresh pleasure. As an *Englishman*, I find myself always peculiarly interested in the sentiments of the sea-faring part of mankind.

THE first time I read this story was about two years ago, when I was at *Margate* in the isle of *Thanet*, attending my father who was advised by his physicians to bathe there.

I REMEMBER I then heartily wished that his majesty (our late good old King *George II.*) had been at that time desired by his physicians to visit the same place.

If such had been the case, his majesty would perhaps have made use of that opportunity to visit the grand newly-erected pier at the neighbouring shore of *Ramsgate*. He certainly would have taken frequent airings on the cliffs between *Margate* and

and the *North Foreland*, and surveyed from thence the wide-extended mouth of his *Thames*. Perhaps some large fleet of *English* merchantmen might have then arrived from *Asia* or *America*. Hearing that their good old king was on that coast, they would have spread all their colours to the wind; sounded their trumpets, and fired their guns. The crews would have saluted their sovereign with repeated cheers. Cheerful indeed would have been that sound: the applauses of a grateful people would have been far more cordial to his royal breast, than any medicinal prescription.

But let me not any longer interrupt you, continued he, turning to *Crito*: you were speaking of the goodness of *Augustus*. I should be sorry if I have hindred my friends from listening to any of your observations on so pleasing a topic.

THE topic is indeed very pleasing, replied *Crito*, making some pause; yet I must add, that on fully considering the whole history of *Augustus*, there necessarily rises a reflection; which is far from being equally agreeable, though it seems highly important and instructive.

THAT part of *Augustus*'s life, which is generally considered as its *good* part, comprehends (as was just now observed) about forty years: a space of  
e
time



time equal to the whole rational and active life of the generality of mankind.

THE power of *Augustus* in doing good far exceeded that of the greatest sovereigns in modern *Europe*.

By a course of wise beneficence *so long* and *so powerfully* exerted, it is natural to imagine, that *Augustus* must have acquired a very splendid name, a very true kind of glory\*.

YET surely *Augustus* ought never to have entertained any hopes, that the horrid crimes of his youth (however atoned for in the sight of heaven) could even by these means be totally effaced from the memory of men. Succeeding generations have and will always look on the history of his life with hatred and detestation, though mixed with admiration, though mixed with pity.

THIS is a melancholy reflection. The same, alas! is the case in private stations. The crimes of youth sometimes continue an indelible stain throughout life: the best conduct in manhood and old age will not be sufficient totally to regain the favour of mankind. Yet let not such persons be too much dispirited. Let them lay aside indeed all thoughts

\* In relation to *Augustus's* clemency, see *Seneca, Lipsius's* Edition, p. 194, 196.

thoughts of reputation and honour; but let them fervently pray, pray without ceasing, that their penitence may at length be favourably accepted by the most gracious, the most merciful of all Beings.

*CRITO* now turned his eyes swimming in tears to his young companions. Happy, said he, happy are you, my dear friends, who have it in your power to begin your lives in the best, in the most complete virtue: and thus to lay the most solid, the most broad foundation for the comfort, happiness, and splendor, *without one flaw* of whatever may be the remainder of your days; whether by the mercy of heaven, you may be removed soon to a better state; or whether you may have it in your power by a longer life here to add daily to the happiness of others, and to your own virtues.

ON the whole, what should be your highest wish? First, that your youth may continue to be as virtuous as the youth of *Marcellus*; and then, that you may either add to it the goodness of the middle and latter years of *Augustus*, or else die soon. May you die early rather than do any thing to stain your glory and your virtue!

*Death, that does sin and sorrow thus prevent,  
Is the next blessing to a life well spent.*

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Μη δῆτα, μη δῆτ', Ω Θεων αγνον σεβας,  
Ιδοιµι ταυτην ημεραν αλλ' εκ βροτων  
Βκινῃ αφαντῷ τοπριῳ, η τοιανδ' ιδειῳ  
Κηλιδ' εµαυτω συµφορας αφιγµενην.

\* \* \*

THE company now walked out of the mausoleum; and stepping into the coach, told the coachman to drive to *Marcellus's* theatre.

THE present state of the theatre of *Marcellus* is so very well known to all persons who have read any travels to *Rome*, or looked over any collection of prints representing its antiquities, that it is needless to insert here any description of that grand structure.

SUFFICE it to observe only, that the young nobleman and the rest of the company in viewing it, frequently admired the beauty of its architecture, but much more frequently thought of the merit of that virtuous prince, in whose honour it was erected.

\* \* \*

CRITO

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*CRITO* now taking out his watch, and finding it as yet to be but early in the day, proposed, that they should take this opportunity of visiting the arch of *Drusus*: it is situate in a very remote part of *Rome*; but we are, said he, in this place, half way on our road thither.

THE company readily agreed to the proposal: they proceeded on their morning airing towards that arch, passing under the western side of mount *Palatine*:

THEY looked up with admiration to the pompous ruins of the imperial palace.

OF how much sorrow, said *Crito*, was this *Palatine* hill in *Augustus's* time the seat? How was the highest degree of human grandeur then embittered by the most heart-felt disappointment and grief? Under the repetition of how many domestic misfortunes did *Augustus* there groan? You remember the flattering lines of *Albinovanus*.

*Cæsar*is adde domum: quæ certè funeris expert  
Debit humanis altior esse malis.

Ille vigil, summâ sacer ille locatis in arce  
Res hominum ex tuto cernere dignus erat.

Nec fieri ipse suis, nec quenquam flere suorum  
Nec quæ nos patimur vulgus & ipse pati.

Was



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Was this the case? Ah! no. Even his most severe enemies might have pitied him, while crying out,

Αἰδ' ὄφελον ἄγον' εἶ' εἶμεναι, ἀγαμ' τ' ἀπολεσθαι.

BESIDES all other sorrow, he saw his sister, the excellent *Othavia*, die of long grief for the loss of her beloved *Marcellus*: he saw his wife *Livia* burying her only good son *Drusus*; *Drusus*, who next to *Marcellus*, is generally described to be one of the most amiable youths of his time, and the most deservedly regretted by his family and country: *Tiberius* in the mean time surviving *Drusus*, for the punishment of his country, in the same manner as *Julia*, for that of her family, survived both *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*.

AT some distance from mount *Palatine*, between the *Cælian* and *Aventine* hills, stands the arch of *Drusus*. Its top is overgrown with moss and shrubs, but its sides are still adorned with two rich marble columns.,

THE young nobleman, in viewing this monument of the memory of *Drusus*\*, recollected what he had

C c

heard

\* *Primum fuisse Drusum, cui mortuo arcus dicatus fit observat Norisius, Cenotaph. Pisan. p. 412. sq. See Reimar's edit. of Dion. Cass. p. 772.*

This arch is represented on some of the medals of *Drusus*.

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heard and seen relative to the same *Roman* prince in his passage through *Lorrain* and *France*, particularly at *Metz* and *Lyons*. At *Metz*, said he, I think there are several beautiful remains of antiquity, which are ascribed to him: but it was at *Lyons*, that *Drusus* by his most engaging behaviour established peace and tranquillity through all the extensive regions of the *Gauls*: it was at *Lyons*, then the capital and metropolis of that country, that he erected the famous monument of the concord of sixty *Gallic* states, and of his own dutiful respect to his father *Augustus*; I mean the altar and temple \*, which was built near the conflux of the *Saone* and *Rhone*.

*CRITO*'s pupil, who had taken the route of *Holland* and the *Low Countries*, recollected the noble monument which is *there* remaining of his wisdom, and greatness of mind; the canal†, which  
this

\* Of that structure there are to this day remaining two stately columns of *Egyptian* granite. They may be seen in the church of *D'Enay*, which stands near the point of the conflux, and probably on the very spot on which the ancient altar of *Augustus* was placed. These two granite columns seem to be of the same sort and size with those in *Agrippa*'s portico at the *Pantheon*: but they are now sawn in sunder, and divided in four pillars which support the small dome of that church. As for their original form, position, and use, several medals may be consulted.

† This canal extended from *Iseloort* to *Doesburg*: (which town was antiently called *Drusus's-Burgh*) it joined the *Rbint* to the *Iffel*, as well as to many of the *Batavian* lakes, and  
through

### Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 387

this adoptive son of *Augustus*, with a truly imperial design, and in the spirit of the ancient wisdom of *Egypt*, cut in *Holland*, that beautiful *European Delta*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen, who had passed some time in *Germany*, particularly in the provinces on the *Rhine*, with pleasure added, that *above fifty German towns*, which now cover the banks of that great river, all owe their foundation to the wisdom of *Drusus*. They derive their origin, said he, from the several stations which *Drusus* prudently chose for his encampments in those then wild and uncultivated regions. Such was the origin of *Strasbourg*; such of *Mentz*. I remember seeing at *Mentz* the ruins of an ancient trophy or cenotaph\* erected to the honour of *Drusus*. It stands on the highest spot of ground in the citadel, exactly fronting the conflux of the *Rhine* and *Main*. With great satisfaction I viewed from thence the prospect of that beautiful country, which is now the garden of *Germany*, watered by those two noble rivers: a prospect, I suppose, in some measure

C c c

analogous

through them to the northern *German ocean*. It is not improbable that *Peter the Great*, while in *Holland*, might attentively consider this great work, and from thence take the hint of several similar and still more noble designs for the uniting the rivers, lakes, and seas, in his own vast dominions.

\* Ελεβε (Δρυς) τιμὴν κενόταφον πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Πηγῇ.

*Dio Cassius*, lib. 55. p. 772.

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analogous to that which you, my noble friend, have seen from the hills near *Lyons*.

How happy is it, dear sir, (continued he, turning to *Crito*) when the works of war are thus mixed and tempered with the works of peace: when, by the benevolence of Providence, so much good is produced even in the midst and from the greatest evils? May such be the consolatory consequences of our present *North American* wars! May the *British* generals in the *New World* become there the founders of as many cities, as *Alexander*, or his imitator *Seleucus*\*; as *Augustus*, or this his noble imitator *Drusus*, have been in the Old!

BUT why am *I* thus talking? I am sure, dear sir, that you have some paper on the character of *Drusus*, with which you intend to favour us in this place.

I HAVE indeed a very short paper of notes on that subject, replied *Crito*, and I have brought you to this place on that account. But though this triumphal arch of *Drusus* be a proper object for awakening our curiosity in relation to his history; yet the place is by no means convenient for a studious lecture: you see it stands on a great public road.

I.

\* *Seleucus* built no less than forty cities in *Asia*.



Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 389

IF you please, we will return to your lodgings. We will return thither by the way of the temple of *Minerva Medica*: we shall have time enough before dinner for making that tour.



THE company now turned down from the great road into the solitary rural lanes of the *Cælian* hill. They passed by the ruins of that great aqueduct which was built by a son of *Drusus*. They crossed over to the *Esquiline* hill, and stopped at the door of a vineyard.

THE name of this vineyard is *Galluzzo*, being most probably a corruption and confusion of the names of *Caius* and *Lucius*, the sons of *Agrippa*, and grandsons of *Augustus*; to whose memory *Augustus* here erected a basilica and a temple.

THIS temple, like several other buildings of the *Augustan* age, (such as the *Pantheon*, the *Mausoleum*, and the *Hemicyclium* of the *Palatine Apollo*) is in the form of a rotunda \*. Its moss-grown  
C c 3 walls

\* It is a decagon: Its circuit on the outside is two hundred and twenty-five feet. In the walls between each angle are broad and deep niches for statues. Here was found that statue which at present makes a principal ornament of the *Giustiniani* gallery, the statue of *Minerva* with a serpent at her feet.

walls and lofty roof are still remaining, though much shattered in many places.

THE company entered this vineyard. In passing through one of its walks, they looked down into the sepulchral vaults of the *Arruntian* family; they then proceeded to the temple. In the center of the temple they found a large fountain, by the side of which they sat down.

*CRITO* sat in a pensive posture, reflecting on the common lot of mortality, and on the vanity of all human grandeur. If I remember right, said he, *Augustus* within the short space of eighteen months was deprived of *Caius* and *Lucius*; those two young princes whom (after the death of *Marcellus*) he looked upon as the supports of his family, and whom he had brought up to succeed him in the imperial power.—Sorrow upon Sorrow.—Perhaps *Augustus* might build this temple as a kind of lenient medicine for his grief. For here *Minerva* was honoured as another *Hygeia*, graciously presiding over the health of that part of the human nature, which, though not indeed subject to mortality, yet is from the earliest childhood continually liable to various pains, and dreadful distempers. Frequently is the goddess of *Wisdom* on this account entitled *Minerva Medica*, and represented with the attributes of *Æsculapius* \*, the serpent

\* See the plate of the temple and figure of *Minerva Medica* in *Mountfaucon's Journey to Italy*, c. 8.

Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 391

pent and wand, blessing mankind with the *medicinâ mentis*, as he did with that of the body.

*CRITO* now opened a pocket volume of *Tully*, and read to his friends the introduction to the third book of the *Tusculan* questions: *De ægritudine leniendâ* \*.

THE conversation afterwards returned to its original subject. The young nobleman took notice of the picturesque appearance of this ruined temple, and then spoke of the statues of *Caius* and *Lucius*, which represent them with the attributes of *Castor* and *Pollux* †.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen commended *Augustus*'s care in the education of the young princes of his family. For though *Caius* and *Lucius* died very young, yet I suppose, said he, they had received much instruction from *Augustus*: and though *Augustus* was very unhappy in *Tiberius* and *Julia*, yet how glorious were the fruits of his paternal care in *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*? What imperial palace ever indeed in one reign produced three such young princes?

C C 4

MAY

\* *Quidnam esse, Brute, causæ putem, cur cum constemus ex animo & corpore, corporis curandi tuendique causâ quæsitâ sit ars, ejusque utilitas deorum immortalium inventioni consecrata: animi autem medicina nec tam desiderata, &c.*

† Those statues were found near the theatre of *Marcellus*, and are now placed on the ascent to the *Capitol*.

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MAY a similar education for ever bless all the royal youth of *Europe* ! But why do I form *so imperfect* a wish on so great an occasion ? May they be blessed with a *far better* education ; even with those instructions which the goddess of this temple is said, under the shape of *Mentor*, to have herself bestowed on the youthful heir of a *Grecian* kingdom ; and which *Fenelon* copied for the benefit of all the princes and people of *Europe*, tho' his pupil, the most amiable Duke of *Burgundy*, died as young as *Drusus* or *Germanicus*,

I AM sure, dear sir, (in saying this he turned to *Crito*) you often thought on that noble work with great pleasure, during your last journey thro' *France*, especially while you were visiting the archi-episcopal church of *Cambray*, or were seated by some of the shady fountains in the gardens of *Marli*.

*CRITO* listened with manifest satisfaction to these sentiments expressed by his young friend : he then turned round to his pupil, and desired to borrow for some moments his pocket *Horace* ; he opened it at the fourth book, and read the following lines.

*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis—  
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam ;*

*Relique*



*Restique mores pectora roborant :  
 Utcunque defecere mores,  
 Dedecorant bene nata culpæ.*

AFTER *Marcellus's* death (continued *Crito*) *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, the two princely brothers of whom *Horace* here speaks, were educated together in the palace and under the care of *Augustus*. *Germanicus*, the son of *Drusus*, had afterwards (as you observe) the same happiness.

DURING the life of *Augustus*, these three princes (though the character of *Tiberius* seems always to have been the lowest of the three) were in general regarded by the public with very great esteem. The *Romans*, still more than their enemies,

*Sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles  
 Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus  
 Possit ; quid Augusti paternus  
 In pueros animus Neronis.*

BUT let us at present confine our thoughts to *Drusus*.

HE seems to have been blessed with a very excellent natural disposition, as well as with a good education.

*Adolescens*

*Adolescens erat tot tantarumque virtutum, quantas natura mortalis recipit, aut industria perficit. Cujus ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus suffecerit artibus in incerto est: morum certè dulcedo & adversus amicos omnes æqua & par sui æstimatio inimitabilis fuisse dicitur.*

IN this panegyric of *Velleius Paterculus* we must certainly make some considerable allowances for the exaggerations of court-flattery: but I apprehend it in the main to be founded in truth. The testimonies of other antient writers seem to confirm it. It is, I suppose, from those writers, that the authors of the Modern Universal History have extracted a very splendid character of this hero.

*DRUSUS was a man of an unblemished character, of a probity which was proof against all temptations; of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit or dissimulation. He was no way inferior either in courage or conduct to the most experienced commanders of his age; and had nothing in view in all his expeditions but the glory of the Roman name, and the public welfare. By which last expressions the authors probably mean the welfare of the Roman state.*

THE character of *Drusus*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, seems to resemble that of the great prince of *Wales*, the son of the great *Edward*  
the

the Third. Don't you recollect his monument at *Canterbury*, and his military trophies at *Windsor*?

HE certainly resembled *Drusus*, replied *Crito*, in several exalted virtues: but particularly in that most amiable of them all, filial respect and love. To virtues of this kind I should wish you always to continue to give your principal attention.

IT is true, that in *military* affairs *Drusus* was (after the decease of *Agrippa*) the greatest character of his times. His campaigns in *Germany* gave full proof both of his conduct and courage. You must have seen, I am sure, many coins of *Augustus*, which (in honour of *Drusus's* victories) are adorned with military trophies, and with the inscription *De Germanis*.

BUT in what manner shall we speak of those victories?

DRUSUS's army, in his last campaigns, passed the *Rhine* and *Wefer*, and ravaged the whole country as far as to the banks of the *Elbe*.—O miserable *Germany*! how often are thy provinces exposed to the ravages of war? Thy plains from the banks of the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, are even now smoking with blood. With what horror, my dear pupil, did we last spring pass over several fields of carnage in *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and the dominions of *Brunswick*.

But

But *Drusus*, being commander of the *Roman* army in that bloody expedition, incurred the deepest maledictions of the *German* nations: on his head their heavy curses fell. Permit me to read to you some few lines, which I have extracted from *Barre's History of Germany*. *Tandis qu'à Rome Drusus étoit regretté comme un prince d'un mérite distingué, brave, vertueux, plein de bonté, digne de remplacer Auguste: en Germanie les Cattes, les Sueves, & les Cherusques se rejouissoient de sa mort. Ils avoient éprouvé de la part de ce prince (or rather from the Roman army under his command) des cruautés inouïes, ce qui rendit sa mémoire si detestable parmi eux, que lorsqu'ils vouloient du mal à quelqu'un, ils soubaitoient qu'il tombat entre les mains d'un autre, Drusus \**.

I REMEMBER that, when we afterwards came from the northern parts of *Germany* into the *Palatinate*, I passed some days at *Manheim* in reading the dismal history of the destruction of that country by the order of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and by the army under the command of (I grieve on this occasion to mention his name) Marshall *Turenne*. I then thought, that some parallel might be drawn between the *German* expedition of *Drusus*, and this sad part of the military history of *Turenne*. Both must

\* *Histoire d'Allemagne*, vol. i. p. 146. quarto edition. *Pere Barre* refers on this head to *Crusius*, *Ann. Suev. lib. ii. p. 2. & 45.*



must have been hated in *Germany*, for executing the orders of their sovereigns \* : while both were justly beloved at home for their own virtues.

*CRITO* now paused for some moments. He then resumed his discourse, beginning it with those well-known verses of *Addison*,

*Should he go further, numbers will be wanting  
To form new battles, and support his crimes.  
Ye Gods! what havoc does ambition make  
Among your works!*

I WISH that I was now endued with the thoughts and language of an *Addison* or of a *Fenelon*, duly to lament the dismal effects and consequences of the pride of Monarchs, dismal to the world in general, dismal often to themselves.

*LEWIS* lived long enough to see the *Palatinate* revenged at *Blenheim*: *Augustus* lived to see and feel the heavy punishment which the *Nemesis* of *Germany* poured down on *Varus's* legions. Permit me to read to you a short extract from *Dion Cassius*.

TOTÉ

\* *A military profession is very dangerous to persons desirous of leading a life of goodness.* Such was the famous reflection of *Marshall Turenne*, made by him on his death-bed; probably while recollecting the dreadful ruin of the *Palatinate*.

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ΤΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΑΘΩΝ Ο ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΩ ΟΥΑΡΩ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗ-  
ΚΟΤΑ ΠΕΝΘΟΣ ΜΕΓΑ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΩΛΟΙΣ Κ' ΕΠΙ  
ΤΩ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΩΝ ΔΕΕΙ' ΤΟΤΕ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ, ΟΤΙ Κ' ΕΠΙ  
ΤΗΝ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΡΩΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΡΜΗΣΕΝ ΣΦΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ-  
ΕΔΟΚΗΣΕ.

SUCH indeed was at last the case.

LET us reflect, my dear and noble friend, for some few moments on the stately magnificence in which *Rome* appeared toward the close of *Augustus's* reign; when the buildings (which we have this day visited) his imperial mausolæum, the theatre of *Marcellus*, the triumphal arch of *Drusus*, and *this* temple, were in their full splendor: then let us ask ourselves, what was the mighty power which was able to destroy this proud city?—The warlike descendants of those *German* nations, whose lands were invaded and ravaged by *Drusus's* army.

PLEASE to recollect, my dear pupil, the vision which appeared to *Æneas*: the vision of those future *Roman* generals, who were to punish *Greece* for its antient cruelties to *Troy*:

*Ille*

*Victor aget currum cæsis insignis Achivis ;  
Eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasque Mycenæ  
Ultus avos Trojæ.*

In the same manner you may imagine that *German* prophetess, who on the banks of the *Elbe* drove back the *Roman* army by her execrations. You may imagine her, I say, on one hand denouncing speedy death to *Drusus*, and loading with curses the whole family of the *Cæsars*; (in the same stile perhaps as the *British* *Druid* cursed \* the *Plantagenet* family) on the other hand turning to the several nations of *Germany*, and prophecying their future victories. The descendants of *this* chief of the *Brucleri* shall subdue *Mentz* and *Lyons*, and expel the *Romans* from all the provinces of *Gaul*. The posterity of *that* chief of the *Quadi* shall take ample revenge on *Rome* herself, shall fire *Mount Pelatine*, deface *Drusus's* triumphal arch, overthrow the mausolæum of *Augustus*, and trample on his ashes.

It seems very observable, said the young nobleman, that in digging among the ruins of *this* temple several of its statues and ornaments have been found broken and battered; among them lay some old *German* hatchets †, probably the instruments of their demolition.

BUT enough of *Germany*, said *Crito*: I should not perhaps have proceeded so far in this kind of digres-

\* See Mr. Gray's Ode: *Ruin seize thee, &c.*

† See Abbé Richard's Voyage d'Italie.

digression, if I had not considered you, my dear fellow-travellers, as in some measure peculiarly concerned in the history of antient *Germany*. Your illustrious families are all descended in some measure from a *German* origin: your *Saxon* ancestors came into *England* from those provinces which are washed by the *Wefer* and the *Elbe*.

BUT let us turn our thoughts again to *Drusus*: and consider him, not in his works of war, but in a far more amiable light; in his *domestic* and *civic* character.

*Occidit exemplum juvenis venerabile morum.*

*Maximus ille armis: maximus ille togâ.*

LIKE his dear *Antonia*, (the worthy daughter of the virtuous and beautiful *Octavia*) *Drusus* united to a graceful body a still more lovely mind. *Drusus* is said to have been possessed of all the qualities which are fitted to produce either esteem or affection. He was generous; he was popular:—

IF I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Drusus* had drank deeply of the doctrines of civil liberty. In case he had survived and succeeded *Augustus*, it was generally expected, that he would have restored the *Roman* republic\*;

*crede-*

\* See *Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 33.*



*credebatur, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem red-*  
*diturus.*

IT was so reported, said *Crito*, but I know not with what truth : much less can I pretend to judge whether or no such a design would have been *really* expedient. I should rather imagine, that *Drusus's* good sense and good intentions would in that case have directed him to *another* work ; to a plan and system of policy less splendid perhaps, but in reality far more beneficial to the public.

BUT however this may be, it is certain, that *Drusus* was generally beloved at *Rome*. *Magna ejus erat apud populum Romanum memoria*. His memory was greatly respected by all parties ; if I may use the expression, both by the country and court-party.

FOR let us not listen to the vulgar calumnies against *Augustus* \*. Wicked as courts sometimes really are, yet I believe they are never near so bad, as they are reported to be : and I am confident, that you, dear sir, from your natural generosity of heart, and from your strong sense of political duty, will often turn your ears with horror and detestation

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D d

tion

\* *Displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos, quàm quia populum Romanum æquo jure complecti red-  
ditâ libertate agita-verint.*—*Hos vulgi sermones, &c,*  
*Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 82.*

tion from many villainous lies suggested against government with equal falshood and malice.

*AUGUSTUS* seems not only to have been totally innocent of this villainous accusation, but to have been in reality deeply afflicted at the death of *Drusus*.

I CANNOT but think *Augustus's* grief and affection towards this his amiable adopted son to have been sincere, while he was composing the history of his life. He spoke the funeral oration also over his corpse.

IN that oration *Augustus* declared with tears, that all he wished for the glory of his then surviving children was this—that they might live to resemble *Drusus*.

HE added (in the stile of a *Roman* orator) that all he desired for himself, was that he might die like this hero; in the service of his country; in the midst of his triumphs.

THE emperor afterwards took the urn, bore it into his mausolæum, placed it there, probably near that of *Marcellus*.



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THE solemn entry of *Drusus's* corpse into *Rome*\*; the deep and mournful silence, with which his urn was deposited in the tomb; these, my dear friends, are subjects of meditation, far more edifying, far more pleasing, than the description of any ovation or triumph,

YET, pleasing as the subject is, let me refrain myself from enlarging on it.—There is however one circumstance relative to it, on which I should be glad if you would for some moments indulge your imaginations.

THE historian, *Livy*, was at the time of *Drusus's* burial about fifty years of age. It is highly probable, that he was then resident at *Rome*; and present at that funeral solemnity. Let me desire you to consider what were most probably *his* thoughts on that occasion.

Is it not likely, that he meditated on it with much application of mind? If we examine the epitome or contents of his history, we shall find that *Drusus's* actions were the principal arguments of the five last books; and that the conclusion of his whole work was *Drusus's* death.

D d 2

*Corpus*

\* *Accedebat ad hanc mortem Drusi ingens civium provinciarumque & totius Italiae desiderium: per quam effusis in officium lugebre municipiis coloniisque usque in urbem ductum erat funus tribo simillimum.* Seneca, Consol. ad Martiam,

*Corpus Romam pervectum, & in C. Julii \* tumulo conditum. Laudatus est a Cæsare Augusto vitrico; & supremis ejus plures honores additi.*

THE great and noble work of *Livy's Roman* history thus closing with the funeral of *Drusus*, it is not to be doubted, but that the writer exerted the full strength of his genius on this mournful occasion; particularly by delineating the character of *Drusus* in a stile worthy of the hero's merit, worthy of his own pen. If the conclusion of *Livy's* labours had been remaining, it would have been probably with much pleasure that I should have presented to you an extract from it this morning, while you were standing under the shade of *Drusus's* arch.

LET us renew our repeated wishes, that the history of *Livy* had been found at *Constantinople* entire!

PARDON me for this reverie, said the young nobleman; but I cannot help imagining, that if the learned world is ever to rejoice in such a discovery, the discovery will most likely be made in *Italy*; probably within the precincts of *Rome*. Perhaps on some fortunate day, a chest may be found  
deeply

\* *Augusti est intelligendum. Nam inquit Dio, τὸ τῷ Ἀργεῖ μνημεῖον κατετέθη.* Sig. Vide *Livii*, editionem Oxoniensem, vol. vi. p. 175.



Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 405

deeply buried in the ruins of this city, a chest containing the works of *Livy*, in great measure perfect; together with some other ancient authors. This conjecture will not seem *totally absurd* to those persons who have been eye-witnesses of the surprising depth of soil to which the ruins of this ancient city extend. They extend in several places down to twenty feet; in the *Celian* hill to near seventy. Among these ruins (particularly among those on *Mount Palatine*) several arched vaults have been frequently at different periods of time accidentally discovered. Many curious paintings, many chef-d'œuvres of antique sculpture have been found in those subterranean recesses. Is it not possible, that some of them may contain a far more precious treasure?

I COULD wish, said *Crito's* pupil, that the goddess of this temple would, with her snaky-wreathed wand kindly point out to us the spot, where we might dig for that treasure.

I REMEMBER, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen with a smile, that when we visited the mines in *Germany*, we heard much of the crooked haselstick. Might it not be wished, that there was some such divining rod for the discovery of the gold mines of literature? But perhaps the wand of *Minerva Medica* might be full as sure a guide.

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THE conversation now wandered on various topics; when the young nobleman taking out his watch, was surprized to find it so late. We must make haste home, said he, or we shall lose our dinner. Besides our servants and horses have been a long while standing exposed to the scorching sun. Let us have pity on them, and return to our lodgings. We shall have made this morning almost the whole tour of *Rome*.



IN the way home *Crito* mentioned a scheme, which he had heard proposed among some travellers, and which (he thought) might possibly be productive of some important discoveries. *Crito* wished this scheme could some time or other be brought to effect, as it seemed conducive to the advancement of charity and policy, as well as of *literature* and *vertù* \*.

THE

\* The streets of *Rome* swarm with poor, who are sed indeed at the gates of the convents; but are in great measure destitute both of lodging and clothing. Several of these poor people might by industry, if they could get employment, provide for themselves better. Several of them seem very able to work.

If a subscription of 200*l.* or 300*l.* were, raised, and permission obtained from the government (*under proper restrictions*) for digging, it is almost certain that before that sum was expended,

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THE young gentlemen strongly approved the idea of this proposal: they ardently wished that it could be begun during their stay at *Rome*, as they would gladly have subscribed to it.

THE subscription I apprehend, said *Crito*, would without much difficulty be raised among *English* travellers; but the *whole* management of the money must be entrusted to *Roman* hands. Happy if a *Roman* of proper dignity would undertake it.

*CRITO's* pupil now amused his friends with some pleasing conjectures in relation to the writers of antiquity, which might by these means be possibly recovered. If, said he, the Royal Master of the *Farnese* gardens, the King of *Naples*, would give permission that the ruins of the *Palatine* library might be thoroughly examined, it is not impossible that *Varius* and some other eminent authors

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of

pend, it would be in a great degree reimbursed by the sale of the mere bricks and tiles, which would be turned up.

But it is highly probable, that many things of value would be discovered, the sale of which would thoroughly support this charity. This charity might be continued for several years by such a circulation of expending and receiving.

If any thing of *very extraordinary* note was found it would by no means be proper that it should be exposed to sale, and exported from *Rome*. The trustees of the charity might present it gratis to the *Roman* government; to be deposited, if an article of vertu, in the *Capitoline Museum*; if of literature, in the *Vatican Library*.

of the *Augustan* age might be brought to light. Perhaps their works might be found in a much better condition than the scorched and pulverized manuscripts at *Herculaneum*.

BUT among all the literary productions of the *Augustan* age, none would be so acceptable to the public as a perfect *Livy*. Indeed the loss which *Livy's* history has suffered is much more generally lamented than that of any other *Roman* or *Greek* composition: which seems somewhat extraordinary; for, notwithstanding the real high merit of *Livy*, certainly there have been several other writers who deserve to be at least equally regretted.

THE conversation now turned on the works of *Livy*. It dwelt on that subject for a considerable time; both while the company were in the coach, and while they were seated together at dinner.



AFTER dinner the young gentlemen dressed and went out to make some visits. *Crito* retired to his apartment to put his papers and books in order.

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Chap. III. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 409

HAVING now passed through all the series of ages contained in *Livy's* history; he laid those volumes, together with *Frensbemius's* Supplement, aside: he laid them aside, not without some sentiments of respect and gratitude. In putting away the last volume, he had the curiosity to see in what manner *Frensbemius* concluded the long and laborious work of his Supplement.

THE last paragraph of that work is as follows.

*Præfenti labori meo in his temporibus ætisque finem facio, circà quæ Livianam etiam historicam defuisse indicio Epitomarum deprehenditur; toto animo versus in majoris & constantioris imperii auctorem dominumque JESUM CHRISTUM: quem sub hosce annos (de natali enim ejus haud levibus argumentis inter doctos disputatur) hominem natum suus aspexit potiùs quàm agnovit orbis. Hujus beneficio, siquid utiliter elaboravi, debere me totum profiteor: cumque suppliciter oro, ut porrò, mentem eam mihi servet, omnia de quibus hic scripsi, regna, viatorias, triumphos nullo modo digna reputantem, ob quæ Illius sanctissima secta, aut quidquid ea facere, ac pati jubet ullâ ex parte negligatur.*

CRITO,

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*CRITO*, after perusing this paragraph with deep attention, retired to his closet for a quarter of an hour: he afterwards took a solitary walk (it being now late in the afternoon) along the shady side of the *Strada felice*. The streets of *Rome* are not indeed improper places for study and contemplation, : some of them being as *quiet* and *still* as any college quadrangles.

ARRIVED at the stately northern front of the basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, *Crito* stood for some minutes admiring it. He then turned his eyes to the *Egyptian* obelisk, which is erected before it; and which was removed hither from the mausolæum of *Augustus*.

*CRITO* perused the inscriptions on its basis. He then went up the flight of steps into the church: he turned short on his left hand by the four *porphyry* pillars, which support the canopy over the high altar; and entered the chapel, which adorns its *northern* side.

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To the READER.

IT seems highly proper at this time to break the thread of these supposed *Roman* Conversations.

YOU are arrived at the time of the Greatest Event, which ever ennobled the history of the world.

WHAT that event was, the author is by no means worthy to say. Sensible of his extreme unworthiness, he can only refer you to the second chapter of the gospel of St. LUKE: particularly to its first twenty verses. See also the first chapter, from the twenty-sixth to the thirty-eighth verse.

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CHAP. IV.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IT seems to have been a very desirable event for the welfare of the *Roman* state, if *Augustus* in the best part of his reign had, with the advice of his council, designed a *wise plan of future legislation*; if, during that time of general tranquillity, he had settled a *solid form of government*; a *proper distribution of the civil power between the prince, the senate, and the people*; and a *regular hereditary succession to the imperial authority*. Such a work would have been far more laudable than any scheme of restoring the anarchy of the late republic.

SUCCEEDING generations would then have had the greatest reason to honour and bless *Augustus's* memory. For such a form of government would in all probability have prevented many of those miseries, which soon after the death of *Augustus* began to fall on the *Roman* people, on the senatorial families, and on his imperial successors themselves. The want of such a settled form of government

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SUCCESSING generations would then have had the greatest reason to honour and bless *Augustus's* memory. For such a form of government would in all probability have prevented many of those miseries, which soon after the death of *Augustus* began to fall on the *Roman* people, on the senatorial families, and on his imperial successors themselves. The want of such a settled form of government

vernment was indeed severely felt, as long as the *Roman* empire continued to exist.

But perhaps, notwithstanding the beauty and general utility of such a legislative plan, and its remarkable congeniality in several particulars with the old *Roman* constitution, yet *Augustus* might not be brave enough to venture to produce it. It might possibly give some disturbance to the present public calm, or rather public lethargy: and therefore it might be dropt, like several other noble designs for the public good, which are continually lost in all ages and countries by government's excessive caution, or rather timidity, *movendi composita*.

PERHAPS also neither *Augustus*, nor any of his council, were endued with a sufficient strength of political wisdom. A mixed distribution of civil power is continually before our eyes in *England*: but there is a very wide difference between the seeing and admiring a complicated machine, and the being able to have invented it. Not one of all the most celebrated *legislators* of antiquity appear to have arrived at the perfect comprehension of so great an idea: though several, both at *Rome* and in *Greece*, seem to have made very considerable approaches towards it.

SUCH



Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 415

SUCH were the sentiments expressed by the eldest of the young gentlemen to his three friends, as they sat round his table to-day after breakfast. He took up *Tacitus's Annals*, which lay among some other political books on the table, and proceeded as follows.

*TACITUS* seems to have almost formed the compleat idea of such a plan; but at the same time to have considered it as ideal only, and to have thought, that no real fabric of government could ever be built or stand long on such foundation.

*Cunctas nationes & urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt. Delecta ex his & constituta respublica laudari facilius quàm evenire; vel si evenit haud diuturna esse potest\*.*

THANK GOD, such a system of government has really existed in *Great Britain* (allowing some considerable variations) for now above ten centuries.

PROBABLY, said the young nobleman, the *Roman* empire was of too great an extent for such an happy plan of government. Several political writers are, I believe, of opinion, that democracy, aristo-

\* Annal. lib. iv. c. 33.

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aristocracy, or limited monarchy, are best suited for states of a moderate size: but that vast and enormous empires demand an absolute sovereign.

MAY there not another reason be given for it? said *Crito*. Did *Rome* deserve such a happiness? Let us recollect the long and black catalogue of her former crimes: let us *now* re-consider the miseries of those many nations, whom she had invaded, enslaved, extirpated. Did *she* deserve so eminent a political blessing? Ah! no. Other things are prepared for her. *Her* people also shall be enslaved: *Rome* shall groan under the most absolute despotism, the most bloody tyranny. The first successor of *Augustus* shall be a *Tiberius*.

*Post hunc castrensis caligæ cognomine Cæsar  
Succedet sævo sævior ingenio:  
Cædibus incestisque dehinc maculosus, & omni  
Crimine pollutum qui superabit ævum.*

I forget what the poet says of *Claudius*, and *Nero*: but I think we may assert with confidence, that as no state ever groaned under a series of such oppressors, so also it will be difficult to find any people, whose wickedness more deserved such a punishment.

TACITUS

Chap. VI. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 417

TACITUS says, that *Sejanus* acquired his great power *non tam solertiâ, quàm Deûm irâ in rem Romanam*. The same observation may be made in relation to most of the twelve *Cæsars*.

PROVIDENCE cast upon the Romans the furiousness of its wrath, by sending these evil angels among them.



BUT let me correct my asperity in the application. The *Romans* were indeed very bad; yet in the midst of their punishment, many mercies and blessings were vouchsafed unto them. Their tyrants were in general very execrable; but yet there was not one of them, of whom it might not be justly said, that he had sometimes performed something that was good.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, a great absurdity of which I was guilty when at the university. In reading *Tacitus's* Annals, I met with several particulars in the life of *Tiberius*, which were very laudable; several actions of generosity and fortitude, which seemed not unworthy the character even of the best of princes. In *Velleius's* encomium also I thought I found much truth,

as well as much falsehood and flattery. I employed myself for a week in collecting all these laudable parts of *Tiberius's* history into one paper, omitting whatever was of a contrary nature. That paper I lately found in my *porte-feuille*; and will communicate it to you, (if I think of it) when you are at *Puteoli* viewing the antique marble\* in the market-place.

I INTENDED to pursue the same scheme in relation to the reigns of *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*. But the absurdity of the design became in the process so very glaring; the evil, which I could scarce avoid reading, (especially if I took up *Suetonius*) so infinitely outweighed the good, and appeared of so very heinous and horrid a nature; that, before I had finished the life of *Tiberius*, I cast aside the paper, incomplete and uncorrect, into my *porte-feuille*: perhaps I ought rather to have flung it with indignation into the fire.

WHEN I afterwards mentioned the affair to you my dear tutor, you kindly told me, that from my week's exercise I might at least draw two useful lessons for my own conduct. First, that some

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\* The pedestal of that statue of *Tiberius*; which was erected by fourteen cities of *Asia*, in gratitude for his beneficence to them when laid desolate by an earthquake. See *Painter's Letters from Italy*, letter 73.

Chap. I.

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Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 419

transient acts of generosity are far from being sufficient to denominate a person truly charitable: the dispositions of charity must, by frequent acts of it, be wrought into his very frame, and become the firm, permanent, habitual affections of his soul. Secondly, much less is a transient practice of *one* virtue (for instance, that virtue to which youth is *most easily* disposed, *erogandæ per honesta pecuniæ*) sufficient to justify a young man in an high opinion of himself, particularly if he neglects other not less noble or useful branches of virtue. The most difficult, but perhaps most important part of his duty is properly to govern those passions, which easily lead first to venial offences, then to more vitious excess, and which from thence (if not timely prevented) will gradually drag down his soul to the depth of criminal horrors. Many young men, who were at first well principled, have been by imperceptible degrees so corrupted, as to have too much reason at least to cry out with *Phædra*,

*Why was I born with such a sense of virtue,  
So great abhorrence of the smallest crime,  
And yet a slave to such impetuous guilt?*

THESE were the instructions, with which, I well remember, you, my kind tutor, favoured me, while at the university. But let me not, by

talking any longer on that subject, prevent you from begining the lecture, with which you intend to favour us this morning.



YESTERDAY, said *Crito*, we concluded our review of that long series of the generations of *Rome*, whose actions were the subject of *Livy's* history. This morning we are to begin the thread of *Tacitus's* Annals. Much reason have I to wish that I was *in any degree* capable of conversing properly with you on those topics, which a *Livy* or a *Tacitus* thought worthy of their labours.

THIS first volume of *Tacitus* comprehends the two and twenty years of *Tiberius's* reign. Notwithstanding the general wretchedness of those times, yet a catalogue might be extracted from it of *several* good men, whose names *Tacitus* here mentions with honour. But the *chief* hero of this volume is *Germanicus*. If you please, we will allot this morning to *his* memory.

YOUR coach shall carry us (if you have no objection) to the *Barberini* palace. We will visit the apartment which is adorned with *Poussin's* picture of the death of *Germanicus*: and either in that apartment

Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 421

partment of the *Barberini* palace, or in one of the chambers of the *Capitoline* musæum, we will prosecute our usual morning's study.

WE shall gladly attend you, replied the young nobleman, to that picture. Often, since I came to *Rome*, I have reflected with pleasure, that in these my lodgings \* *Poussin* lived, thought, and laboured. Perhaps it was in this very room, where we are now sitting, that *Poussin* conceived the idea, and executed the design of that noble painting of *Germanicus's* death.



THE *Barberini* palace contains ten noble apartments, each of which consists of several rooms, furnished with great abundance of statues and paintings.

IN the eighth room of the prince's summer apartment, is that famous picture of the death of *Germanicus* by *Nicolo Poussin*; for which it is said, the Great Duke offered no less a price than 15000 crowns, or 3750*l.* sterling.

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\* Next door to the *French* convent on *Monte de Trinità*.

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THE company employed near an hour in studying this picture: they afterwards proceeded to the *Capitol*.



IN passing through the second room of the *Capitoline* musæum, the company stopped for some time to admire the recumbent thoughtful statue of *Agrippina*: they then went on to the *imperial chamber*.

THE imperial chamber is called by that title on account of the antique busts which it contains, representing most of the *Roman* Emperors, Emperresses, *Cæsars*, and Consuls of the imperial blood. These busts are ranged round the room in two rows, and are disposed in a regular chronological series \*.

How grand is this assembly? said the young nobleman. This congress of almost all the great families

\* *Vedesi in primo luogo collocato il busto di Giulio Cesare di alabastro a righe. Siegue quello di Augusto. Indi una testa di Marcello suo nepote. Altra poi di Tiberio, e un busto del medesimo. Di bianchissimo marmo e il busto del suo frate lo Druso fatto certamente in questi tempi, come si manifesta l'eccellenza del lavoro. Alla sinistra di esso vedesi la stimabilissima testa della di lui moglie Antonia detta minore. La testa di Germanico lor figliuolo viene appresso. Poi quella della di lui moglie Agrippina, molto stimabile pel lavoro, &c.*



IV. Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 423

families which were honoured with the imperial crown of *Rome*, during the three centuries of its greatest splendor !

IT is indeed a very majestic assembly, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. But the awe which we feel on first entering the room, very considerably abates, when we consider the *difference* of the characters of these personages.

SEVERAL of them indeed had noble and exalted minds ; (in saying this, he pointed to the busts of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* on the upper row near the window) but in how many other of these breasts did the greatest meanness and misery lurk ?

I AM afraid, that we shall too frequently find by our own experience, in all the courts, and in all the august assemblies of the present age, a similar strange mixture of company.

BUT to consider it, continued he, turning to *Crito's* pupil, in a calm view (as one of your philosophers in the next room \* might do) how ill-sorted does this company appear ? *Agrippa*, *Marcellus*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus* ; *Titus*, *Nerva*, and these several busts of *Marcus Aurelius* ; mixed with

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those

\* The philosophic chamber in the *Capitoline Museum* (mentioned page 132.) is the room next adjoining to this imperial chamber.

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those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and that most ill-looking *Caracalla* in that corner \*.

DOES not this strange mixture of company put you in mind of that part of the sculpture on *Æneas's* shield, in which *Virgil* has placed some of the worst as well as some of the best of the *Roman* characters closely and therefore instructively contrasted together.

——— *Te, Catilina, menaci*

*Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem:*  
*Secretoſque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.*

HAPPY would it be, ſaid *Crito*, (after having fixed his eyes in ſilence for ſome moments on the floor) if in the future courſe of your lives you could dwell and converſe *only with the good*. Such a bleſſing would in ſome meaſure turn earth into heaven.

I REMEMBER about the middle of the firſt *November*, which I paſſed on the continent, I heard at *Amiens* an anthem; the words of which gave me great pleaſure. *Juſtum deduxit Dominus per*  
*vias*

\* *Alla ferezza del volto, al terribile ſopraciglio, ed alla minaccioſa voltata di teſta facil coſa e il riconoſcere Caracalla effigiato in uno buſto di porſido con la teſta di marmo.*

Museo Capitolino, pag. 51.

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*vias rectas, & ostendit illi regnum DEI. O beatum virum, cujus anima Paradisum possidet; unde exultant angeli, letantur archangeli, chorus sanctorum proclamant, turba virginum invitat, mane nobiscum in eternum.* Certainly no little part of the perpetually-increasing felicity and holiness of the celestial kingdom, must be derived from the unmixed society, the eternal communion of its saints.

HAPPY is the man, whose lot on earth in some degree resembles theirs.

*BUT* *wo is me, who am constrained to dwell with Mefech, and to have my habitation among the tents of Kedar.*

LET us endeavour, my dear friends, to avoid, as much as possible, all bad connections. It is the duty of eminently virtuous persons to condescend to the conversation, and to endeavour the amendment of the wicked. But our principles of piety are as yet far too weak; let us not venture into contagion. When we are forced among bad persons, let us recollect how dangerous a place this world is. As long as we continue in this life, we stand between heaven and hell; and out of every one of us there will grow, either an angel, or (what GOD of his infinite mercy for ever prevent) a devil.

BUT

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BUT let us turn our thoughts to less weighty subjects: let us resume our classic studies.

THIS assembly of the imperial families of *Rome*, shews us virtue and vice both placed in the *bighest* stations.

MAY the bust of *Tiberius*, and of those other tyrants, revive in your hearts the abhorrence of their characters: but may the amiable looks of *Germanicus*, and of these other princes, whose histories are adorned with many illustrious marks of wisdom and goodness, increase and enflame your noble emulation, your ardent desire of making by imitation their virtues your own; as far at least as your different stations and spheres of action seem to allow.

I HAVE brought a paper for your perusal here. On the back of which I find a reference to the beginning of *Demetrius's* life in *Plutarch*: and also some lines quoted from one of his treatises.—

Επιλογιζεσθαι δει δι' αμφοτερων τα μεν φυλαττομενοι βελτιος ωμεν αυτων, τα δε μιμημενοι μη χειρονες \*.

THIS paper contains a kind of contrast between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

EVERY

\* See *Plutarch's* treatise *de capiendâ ex inimico utilitate*, p. 92. at the conclusion.



IV. Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 427

EVERY day of my life ought I to grow more and more deeply convinced of my infinite unworthiness to have any concern in the great work of education. May that blessed work flourish in other hands! Yet as I have passed much time in studying the subject (unprofitably perhaps) allow me to mention some of the opinions of the authors whom I have consulted.

It is the opinion of several learned writers, that the most likely means of preserving and increasing the love of virtue in young persons, is to place before their eyes continually, and on all sides, the noblest and brightest examples that have existed since the foundation of the world; perhaps the next best method for the same purpose, is to shew to them sometimes (not often) the extreme baseness and horror of an opposite character.

FOR as no one can refuse his thanksgivings to heaven for the glory and happiness of virtue to which he has been called, and which has been exemplified to him in the numerous examples of the wise and good; all, in a long series through many ages, ardently imitating the excellencies of their predecessors: so on the other hand, no person can help fearing for himself, when he sees the blackness, darkness, and depth of the infamy,

infamy, wretchedness, and horrid misery of vice.

PERHAPS some of those who lie in that gulph of vice, were once walking in the shining paths of virtue. But, alas! *mutati sunt in deterius*. Such seems to have been, in a remarkable manner, the sad case of *Tiberius*.

BUT let me not indulge myself in too much talkativeness. I shall sufficiently exercise your patience by the perusal of this paper.

## GERMANICUS.

THERE is not perhaps any part of the *Roman* history which shews more strongly the misery of degenerating from our education, and of losing the virtuous reputation gained in our youth, than the contrast between the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.

THEY both began their lives in the same exalted theatre of human grandeur, the *palace* of the *Roman* empire. Both were educated by *Augustus*, at that time in the height of his goodness and wisdom. Both were possessed of great natural genius and abilities

Chap. IV. GERMANICUS. 429

abilities of mind. Both in their early manhood acted virtuously and nobly. But *Tiberius* suffered himself to grow *gradually* corrupted in his heart, and degenerate from the glorious beginning of his life. His actions of virtue and goodness grew daily fewer and fewer: his heart grew worse and worse. *Morum enim tempora illi diversa. Egregius vitâ, famâque, quoad privatus, vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit: fingens virtutes donec supersuit Germanicus: inter bona, malaque mixtus incolumi matre: postea in scelera omnia, & dedecora prorumpens.* Thus did he *gradually* become the most despicable, the most hated, the most cursed of characters: his long life, and exalted station, only adding to the weight of the infamy and misery on his head.

THE name of *Germanicus* has been now for more than seventeen centuries, and will probably continue as long as the *Roman* history remains, beloved and revered. *Ingenium illi contigit, in utroque eloquentiæ ac doctrinæ studio præcellens;* and that in poetry too, as well as oratory. *Multa reliquit studiorum monumenta;* particularly a translation of *Aratus* with astronomical notes: but (what is of infinitely more consequence) *fortitudinem habuit egregiam, benevolentiam singularem: conciliandæque hominum gratiæ ac promerendi amoris mirum & efficax studium.*

HE

HE continued always to keep his heart, with all diligence, in the constant habit of intending and aiming at the best designs: he consequently was in his heart and countenance, and in all his words and actions, open, generous, and noble. Tiberius, on the contrary, grew by degrees (the necessary consequence of his wickedness) to have always dissimulation in his countenance, insincerity and darkness in his speech, and malevolence in his heart. For, in proportion as he lost himself all title to real glory, he became most meanly envious: all the honours, which others acquired, offended him.

GERMANICUS was compassionate to the unhappy, and kind even to his rivals. He was faithful and brave himself in the service of his country. He honoured all the living and dead who had been so. *Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulchra cognosceret, inferias manibus dabat. Caesarum Varianorum præsertim reliquias colligere & tumulo condere primus aggressus est.* I recollect with pleasure your sentiments on that subject, my good pupil. In your journey through Westphalia, in the neighbourhood of Paderborn, you visited that spot.

IF I am not mistaken, replied Crito's pupil, (turning off the conversation, and pointing to the busts

busts of *Trajan* \* ) that emperor acted in the same noble and generous manner. In a *French* history of his life, which I lately read, it is said that *Trajan fit elever un autel en memoire de ceux qui étoient tués dans les combats, & y fonda des sacrifices annuels.* But pray proceed to the other parts of *Germanicus's* character.

AT the hazard of his own life (continued *Crito*) *Germanicus* was loyal to *Tiberius*, his adoptive father: though he was in continual danger of destruction from his malice; and though he was almost sure of obtaining the imperial power if he had the inclination of wresting it from the possessor. *Legiones imperatorem Tiberium recusantes, & sibi summum imperium deferentes compescuit; incertum majore constantiâ an pietate.* Those legions were the army on the *Rhine*; *robur imperii, & vi suâ cuncta tracturum.* How different was this noble generous spirit of *Germanicus*, from that ignavia, of which *Velleius Paterculus* falsely accuses him?

BUT to proceed in the contrast between his character and that of *Tiberius*. *Tiberius* by degrees came to have scarce any object but that of mean self-love, and false ambition; to have no affection for any person; to be suspicious and fearful of all:

\* *Amendue i busti di Trajano sono di un perfetto lavoro, & semigliantissimi con le medaglie, amendue di marmo bianco, ed il primo e tutto di un pezzo.* Museo Capitolino, p. 49.



all: and yet (the miserable consequence of such a temper) this tyrant was continually admitting the worst men to his society and favour; and continually busied in the horrid work of persecuting and murdering his near relations, as well as the most innocent and worthy of his subjects.

*GERMANICUS* was always inclined to sweetness and goodness; mild and forgiving to his slanderers; supporting affronts with true magnanimity and patience; and with the greatest generosity saving the lives of his most determined enemies. *Tiberius* grew more and more hard-hearted and cruel; and full of such mean malevolence to all his fellow-creatures, as at last, in the bitterness of his malice, to repeat that diabolical line,

Εὐχὴ Δαυοῦτ' ὅ γαῖα μὴ χθρῆται ποῖ.

A sentiment the wickedness of which could be imitated only by a *Nero* \*. But let us hasten from such a dreadful train of thought. From such a hell libera nos, Domine!

THIS

\* *Nero's* sentiments were, if possible, still more infernal: *Repetente enim quodam hoc carmen: immò, inquit ipse Δαυοῦτ'. Shakespear* has placed the same horrid wish in the mouth of a similar tyrant, *Macbeth*.

*I wish the state of the world were now undone!*

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THIS last expression of *Crito* was occasioned by the accidental circumstance, which happened while he was speaking. The monks of *Ara Cæli* were at that instant crossing the *Capitoline* area in procession, singing the litany. Their chaunt was heard distinctly in the musæum. The company went to the balcony in the *Sala Grande* to see the procession, and then at the desire of the young nobleman walked down the stone stair-case.



AT the bottom of the stair-case is a small paved court adorned with a fountain: in the midst of that fountain is placed a colossal antique statue, representing (according to the common opinion) the river *Rhine*. This statue is generally known by the name of *Marforio*; probably on account of its having been once a principal ornament of the adjoining *Forum*, and temple of *Mars* \*.

PERHAPS, said the young nobleman, this statue may bear some relation to the history of *Germanicus*. Pere *Bougeant* says, that *Germanicus*

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F f

adorned

\* The forum of *Augustus* stood nearly adjoining to the *Capitol*: in the middle of that forum was the temple of *Mars* the revenger.

See *Donati's Roman Antiquities*, book ii. ch. 22.

adorned the temple of Mars the revenger \*, with the ornaments of his triumph, and the spoils of Germany. Perhaps this figure of the Rhine might be then placed there. I know not on what authority Pere Bougeant's history is founded: but I think Tacitus speaks of a triumphal arch built within a stone's cast of that forum, expressly on account of these German victories †. Is it not probable, that the Romans might then have placed this statue of the Rhine before the temple of their idols, (as a permanent emblem of their victories) after having dragged

\* Histoire d'Allemagne, livre ii. p. 205. *Germanicus mit pied à terre, quitta sa robe triumphale, & sacrifia à Jupiter plusieurs taureaux blancs: il porta ensuite au temple de Mars le vengeur les ornemens du triomphe, & les depouilles des Germains.*

† *Fine anni dicatur arcus propter ædem Saturni ob recepta signum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii.*

Annal. lib. ii. c. 41.

On the foundations of this temple of Saturn adjoining to the forum of Augustus, the church of St. Adrian in Campo Vaccino now stands. Close by which church, this statue of the Rhine lay on the ground neglected during many of the middle ages. It has been but lately removed to the Capitol.

At the distance of some few yards from the church of St. Adrian, is a triumphal arch, inscribed to Severus, probably built on the very spot of Germanicus's or Tiberius's triumphal arch; and possibly composed in great measure of its materials. It might even be imagined without any very great appearance of absurdity, that it is the same identical arch without any other alteration but that of the inscription. The sculptures on it seem very applicable to the history of Germanicus's campaigns: particularly the naval expeditions, and the reliefs of the four river-gods *sopra gli archi collaterali*; two of which may perhaps represent the Elbe and Rhine, and the other two, which are younger and without beards, the Ems and Weser.

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dragged it as it were captive through their streets? It seems a confirmation of this conjecture, that Tacitus, in describing the triumph of *Germanicus*, says expressly, *vesta simulacra fluminum* \*.

SUCH indeed, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, was on many occasions the haughty pride of the *Romans*. But in respect of *Germany*, their boasts of victory were not only arrogant, but also void of foundation. Often did they pretend to triumph over *Germany*: but in fact this mighty river, the *Rhine*, was the impassable boundary, the *ne plus ultra* of the *Roman* empire.

It is true, that *Germanicus* and his father *Drusus* extended the ravages of war across its streams, and made the banks of the *Ems*, the *Weser*, and the *Elbe*, the theatre of some of their campaigns; one of their officers, I think, even passed the *Elbe* †; yet those campaigns, bloody and destructive as they were, produced no settled conquests. After much slaughter and toil, after many vicissitudes of defeat and victory, the *Romans* found themselves obliged to fall back again to the *Rhine*.

F f 2

THE

\* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 41.

† L. Domitius exercitu flumem Albim transcendit, longius penetra-  
ta Germaniâ quam quisquam priorum.

Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 44.

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THE *Rhine* continued ever afterwards the limit of their dominion. This is generally attributed to the wise policy and state-maxims of some of the emperors. But there were manifestly other reasons for it. *Rome* was able, and therefore willing, to extend her dominion in the west beyond the great boundary of the ocean, and to penetrate even to the *Silures* and *Brigantes*; but she was never able to subdue the warlike inhabitants of *Westphalia* and *Hanover*. I recollect *Florus's* observation on this subject. *Imperium quod non steterat in littore Oceani, stabat in ripâ fluminis Rheni*: it might be added, *semper stetit*. How much must some of our *Saxon* ancestors have exulted in this thought?

THE conversation now was changed for some minutes into a panegyric on the heroism and fortitude of the *German* nations. It soon however returned to the character of *Germanicus*.

I REMEMBER, continued the eldest of the young gentlemen, that when I was at *Cologne*, I employed a long afternoon in the study of those campaigns of *Germanicus*, which are described in *Tacitus's Annals*.

IN the morning I had been for several hours walking about that old city, and viewing with much pleasure the magazine of antique *Roman* arms



arms in the *Stadt-houfe* \*, and the bas-reliefs of the head of *Germanicus* on the walls of some of the public buildings. After dinner I went up into my chamber, the windows of which commanded an extensive prospect across the *Rhine*; I sat down in the window seat, and turned over several parts of the two first books of *Tacitus*.

SOMETIMES I cast my eyes across the river, and imagined I saw *Agrippina* standing at the foot of the bridge: sometimes I looked up the stream towards *Bonn*, and recollected *Germanicus*'s fidelity there to *Tiberius*: at other times I looked down the stream, and thought of *Germanicus*'s laborious campaigns in *Friesland* and *Emden*.

IN reading the history of those campaigns, I met with several passages, which from my want of practice in the stile of *Tacitus*, and from my extreme ignorance in the art of war, (antient as well as modern) I could not understand. The obscurity was increased by the great changes which since *Tacitus*'s time have happened in the countries near the mouths of the *Rhine*.

IF you please, said *Crito*, we will at present turn our thoughts from *Germanicus*'s military history.

F f 3

\* *Pococke* observes, that these arms are very similar to those which he had seen in an old *Roman* arsenal at *Beer* on the *Euphrates*.

tory. His warlike atchievements gained him indeed great reputation at *Rome*, yet we must own, that as in the military history of *Drusus*, *Scipio*, and other *Roman* heroes, so also in this of *Germanicus*, there are many things which are really the objects of horror, not of admiration.—*Quinquaginta millium spatium ferro flammisque pervastavit: non sexus, non lætas miserationem attulit* \*.—*Insisterent cædibus, nil opus captivis, solam internecionem gentis finem bello fore* †.

SHUTTING our eyes to these scenes of warlike cruelty, the perpetual disgrace of *Roman* heroism, let us contemplate *Germanicus* in another far more pleasing light.

IN saying these words, *Crito* turned from the figure of the *Rbine*, and walked into the adjoining portico,



AT the end of the portico, fronting the staircase, is a room called the *Canopus*. It is adorned with about a dozen *Egyptian* sculptures, executed in a manner remarkably elegant.

THE

• *Annalium*, lib. i. c. 51.

† *Annal.* lib. ii. c. 81.

THE company passed a quarter of an hour in that room ; during which time their conversation naturally fell on the history of *Egypt*.

IN the middle of the same portico, fronting the gate, stand two *Egyptian* statues, of a much larger size, and to all appearance of much greater antiquity. One of them bears on its head a kind of *corona turrita*, holds in its right hand the roll of a book, and in its left a palm-branch : several hieroglyphic characters are engraven on its side.

THE study of the *Egyptian* history, said *Crito*, would be a very amusing employment to persons resident at *Rome*, if there was at present in this city any *Coptite* or *Abyssinian* priest capable of explaining the hieroglyphic language, in the same manner as the learned *Hermapion*, whose book on that subject is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* \*. If such were the case, perhaps we should find from these hieroglyphic characters, that the person represented by this statue, was the most glorious, the most beneficent of conquerors, the royal *Osiris*. *Osiris*, the builder of cities, the patron of agriculture, of learning, and of all the arts of peace.

\* See *Ammianus Marcellinus*'s History of *Constantius*, book 17.

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MY pupil's vision of the genius of the obelisk, has, since I heard it, turned my thoughts to the history of *Egypt*. One morning in the latter end of last week, I took up the first book of *Diodorus Siculus*, and read with much pleasure the account of king *Osiris's* expeditions.

THAT account seems at first view a mere romance; but perhaps you, dear sir, (in saying this, *Crito* turned to the eldest of his young friends) might have been able to extract from it some important doctrines of *true* political wisdom.

IN fact, if we suppose the prince of a civilized country to have any concerns with savage and barbarous nations, what better or wiser plan of policy can he lay down for himself, than the grand outlines of *Osiris's* conduct? To become not so much the formidable enemy, as the real friend to the barbarians; not to invade, and consequently force them to learn the *arts* of war, but to communicate to them the far happier arts of peace; to introduce among them the blessings of a civilized life; to instruct them in agriculture, and to enlighten their minds with useful knowledge, and with the purest doctrines of piety and morality.

Happy would it have been for the *Roman* empire, if *Augustus* and his successors had followed

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(as far as they were able) this plan of policy, in regard to the *German* nations. Happy would it have been, if *Germanicus* had been sent to the banks of the *Wefer* and *Elbe*, not in the character of a dreadful *Roman* general (a severe, though excellent master in the art of war \*) but rather in a character similar to that of *Osiris's* lieutenant, *Triptolemus*.

How rejoiced would *Germanicus* have been in an employment so suitable to the goodness of his heart? With what pleasure would he have instructed the barbarians to till their soil, to drain their marshes, and to clear their vast forests, with which *Germany* was then covered?

If such a plan of policy had been followed, it is probable the *Germans* would have been much more happy, (for they might have partaken of the benefits of a civilized life, without being corrupted or enslaved by luxury) and it is also very probable, that *Rome* would never have been destroyed by the inundations of the *German* nations. Against their fierceness the plow would have been a much better weapon than the *Roman* sword.

IN

\* *Diriguntur acies, non ut olim apud Germanos vagis incursibus aut disjectas per catervas: quippe longâ adversus nos militiâ insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.* Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 45.



IN fact, we find the dreadful inundations of the northern nations never to have ceased ; till agriculture, civilization, and other sciences were introduced into the north. While the northern nations depended on hunting for their subsistence, they perpetually found their vast regions too narrow for their numbers : applying themselves to agriculture, they found the same countries amply capable of supporting them, even if their multitudes had been encreased an hundred fold.

THE conversation now imperceptibly wandered to the account given by *Tacitus* of *Germanicus's* travels into *Egypt*, and of his voyage up the *Nile* from the town of *Canopus* to the great city of *Osiris*, the hundred-gated *Thebes* \*.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, that while I was reading in *England* that part of *Tacitus*, I frequently consulted *Pococke's* travels into the *East*, and *Norden's* late voyage on the *Nile* from the ruins of *Alexandria* up to those of *Luxor* and *Carnar*. Since our arrival at *Rome*, I vainly please myself with the fancy, that I have discovered here a memorial of *Germanicus's* visit to *Thebes*. On the  
Lateran

\* Annal. lib. ii. c. 60.

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*Lateran* obelisk (which obelisk, if I am not mistaken, was originally a *principal* ornament of that great *Egyptian* metropolis) I think I discovered one day, when the sun shone remarkably favourable on that part, several *Roman* characters, being the five or six first letters of *Germanicus's* name, engraved sideways among or rather across the hieroglyphics. If I did not deceive myself in this fancy, it is probable that these letters might be thus engraved by *Germanicus's* order while at *Thebes*, as a memorial of his journey thither; in the same manner as (according to *Pococke* and *Norden*) many other *Roman* and *Greek* names are inscribed on the feet of *Memnon's* statue.

BUT let me not trouble you any longer with this conjecture, which is perhaps void of foundation, certainly is but trifling. Let me rather desire my tutor to continue his comparison of the characters of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*.



IN order to place in a stronger light the contrast of those characters, replied *Crito*, it may not be an improper method to consider (as you are now doing) *Germanicus* during his travels through those

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those parts of the world, which were at that time most famous either for the antient or the actual merit of the inhabitants.

*GERMANICUS travelled with the greatest continued pleasure, because with continued innocence, and with continued intentions of learning and practising goodness in every place.*

*GERMANICUS, according to the doctrine of Pythagoras, (a doctrine, my dear pupil, worthy the notice of all young travellers to Italy)* ΜΟΥΣΕΣ ΣΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ ΝΔΙΣ ΝΥΕΙΤΟ.

*GERMANICUS, in visiting and examining the venerable antiquities of Greece, Asia, and Egypt, satisfied a very laudable curiosity: it might have been wished, however, that before he went into Egypt, he had not forgot to ask Tiberius's permission for making that tour.*

*GERMANICUS respected the inhabitants of those celebrated countries for the sake of their ancestors: and as he was invested with a great share in the power of government, he constantly (in some degree like the great and good Osiris) made it his business in all countries, through which he passed, to take that opportunity of establishing the public tranquillity, order, and plenty; appeasing*  
in

in some measure all discords, and relieving all oppressions, whether foreign or domestic \*.

—— ΦΙΛΘ' ὅτι ἀνθρώποις,

Πάντας γὰρ Φιλεσκεν.

IN contrast with this affability and beneficence of *Germanicus*, let us consider *Tiberius*, the absolute monarch of the vast *Roman* empire, absconding even from *Rome*. Most part of the latter end of his reign he passed in a small island, about two hundred miles distant from this city. During the last eleven years of his life, he never once entered his own palace, never trod in the *Roman* forum, never ascended this *Capitoline* hill : *gravatus aspectum civium*.

IF one of the humble lay-brothers in this adjoining covent of *Ara Cæli* was now to overhear this part of our conversations, he would perhaps by his charity be induced to please himself with the imagination, that *Tiberius* might, possibly in his old age, chuse that retreat from *penitential* motives. Many true penitents (he would perhaps say) have retired from the pomp of the world to  
rocky

\* *Provincias internis certaminibus, aut magistratuum injuriis fissas resovebat.* (Annal. lib. ii. c. 54.) *Levavit aperiis horreis pretia frugum.* (Ibid. c. 58) *Alexandriam adiit propter immensam ac repentinam famem.* Sueton. in *Tiberio*, c. 52.

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rocky deserts and solitary islands, and there given themselves up to such religious compunction, as produced amendment of life; and, after many years of bitter sorrow, lightened the load of the heart, and cheared it gradually with some humble hopes of mercy, with some gleams and rays of true felicity.

Al! no. *Tiberius's* purpose of retirement had nothing holy or happy in it. It was originally owing partly to the crafty artifice of his prime minister, partly to *Tiberius's* worldly sense of his own shame. *Pudore scelerum & libidinum*. At Rome he sometimes could not avoid over-hearing *voces illas veras & graves, & probra quibus per ac- cultum lacerabatur*; sometimes he was even re- proached to his face for his vile actions.

IN the choice of the place of his solitude, *Tibe- rius* shewed no symptoms of a heart touched with a penitential sense of its crimes \*. Innocence might have properly delighted itself in such a re- treat: but a true penitent would never have been curious in selecting so delightful a spot, nor thought himself worthy of such an habitation.

BUT,

\* *Insula in Favonium obversa, & aperto circum pelago perama- na, prospicebatque pulcherrimum finem, antequam Vesuvius non ardescens faciem loci verteret. Tacit, Annal. lib. iv. c. 67.*



BUT, though pleasantness of situation is a circumstance by no means suitable to the just idea of a penitential retirement, yet (our monk might say) it is nevertheless possible, that *Tiberius* might employ his time well there. I know nothing of his history, though I have lived so long at *Rome*; and though my bare feet every day tread on this hill, which (I think I have heard) was once the principal part of the city. Such kind of history is not our study: our study is chiefly the piety of those happy men, who have sanctified by their retirements the deserts of *Scete*, and the mountains of *Alverno*, or *Chartreuse*. Pray inform me what was *Tiberius's* frame of mind, and manner of life in his solitude?

*Malum otium, luxus, libido, sævitia,*

Were these devils the constant possessors of his soul?

THEY seem to have been so; except when at intervals conscience arose in all her blackest terrors, astonished him, overwhelmed him, almost drove him mad. *Non enim illum fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasque ipse penas fateretur. Ad senatum enim his verbis orsus est epistolam, " Quid scribam vobis, Patres Con-*  
*" scripti, hoc tempore, aut quomodo non scribam, aut*  
*" quid*

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“quid omninò scribam, Dî me Deæque pejus perdant;  
 “quàm perire quotidie sentio si scio. Adeo facinora  
 “atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verte-  
 “rant; neque frustrà præstantissimus sapientiæ (q.  
 “Plato) firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum  
 “mentes, posse aspici laniatus & cruciatus; quando,  
 “ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis  
 “consultis animus dilaceretur.”

BUT why (continued *Crito*) should I imagine myself talking on this subject with one of the inhabitants of the adjoining convent? It is with you, my fellow travellers, that I am really conversing.

YOU will soon, from the key and mole of *Naples*, see that unhappy island, which is become eternally infamous by the cursed actions of its diabolical inhabitant, *Tiberius*. You will see it in every airing, which you shall take towards the suburbs of *Pausilypo* or *Maddalena*; but never will you have any desire to make a nearer approach to it, or to set your feet on its shore.

*Effugimus scopulos Ithacæ, Laertia regna,  
 Et terram altricem sævi execramur Ulyssis.*

IN the same environs of *Naples* you will perhaps see other hellish objects: I mean the horrors of the

the neighbouring volcanoes, which frequently burst forth in roaring rivers of liquid fire, in clouds of darkness, and showers of flaming brimstone.

THESE horrors you will observe with awe, if an eruption of mount *Vesuvius* should happen while you are at *Naples*: at all other times, your eyes will be charmed with the serenity and sweetness of the landscapes, and real *Elysian* fields on the *Neapolitan* coast; that coast, which in general (according to the proverb) *e un pezzo di ciel caduto in terra*. A young poet indeed (who had filled his mind with the ideas of *Pindar* or *Virgil*) might represent that coast as an emblem of the regions of the blessed: but never, I believe, did any man of the plainest education look upon *Vesuvius*, during an eruption, without almost instantaneously considering it as an emblem, or rather visible type, of hell.

YET, alas! how great is the difference! The conflagration of that hill, however horrid, is not an unquenchable flame; that is not an everlasting fire.

No wonder, that guilty minds should deeply feel the presentiments of their future unspeakable misery.

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I REMEMBER, said *Crito's* pupil, in *Plutarch's* book *Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*, a passage very applicable to your present topic \*. But there is no occasion to quote learned writers for those sentiments which are most loudly expressed by the voice of universal nature. Both the illiterate and the learned, the rich and the poor, the high and low, are all liable to the irresistible influence of conscience. With what attention, my dear young friends, have we often observed in *England* a large audience, composed of the most different ranks and kinds of men, all in deep silence listening to those scenes of *Shakespeare*, in which the terrors of conscience are exemplified? I mean particularly the conclusion of the tragedies of *Richard the Third*, and *Macbeth*.

*Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.  
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me?*

*Obl*

\* Οὐτὸ μακαριὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ νομιζέται·  
Ἐπὰνδ' ἀνοιξῇ τὰς θυράς, τρεῖς ἀθλιῶν.

Ἡ ἐαυτὸς κακία αἰεὶ συνοικῆσθαι τοῖς σπλάχνοις, καὶ πρὸς  
πεφυκυῖα νυκτῶν καὶ μεθ' ἡμερᾶν

Εὖτε ἀτερ δαλῶ, καὶ ὡμῶ γῆραι δῶκε.

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ καθευδεῖ, τὸ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ὑπνῶσει καὶ ἀν-  
παυσίς, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ὥλοισι καὶ οὖνιροι καὶ ταραχαὶ διαδίσ-  
δαιμονίαν. Πᾶν τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς κακίας; εἰ μὴδαμὲν τὸ ἀμ-  
ριμνον, μὴδαμὲν ἀταραξία, μὴδαμὲν ησυχία.

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Ob! the affliction of those terrible dreams  
That shake us nightly! Better be with the dead,  
Than on such torture of the mind to lie.  
Ob! full of scorpions is my mind.—I'm fill'd with  
horror.

IN this respect the castle of *Dunfinane* seems  
strongly to have resembled the palace of *Tiberius*  
in *Caprea*.



IF you please, said *Crito*, we will resume our  
classic studies. My own conscience presses on me  
too hard for me to be able to continue these  
moral reflections. May Heaven have mercy on  
us all!

SPEAKING these words, *Crito* turned round,  
and with a slow and pensive step walked across  
the *Capitoline* area to the opposite building, the  
*Palazzo dei conservatori*.

IN the court of that building, on the left hand  
against the wall, stands a large stone urn, on  
which is an antique inscription in characters very  
deeply cut.



OSSA

AGRIPPINÆ, M. AGRIPPÆ, DIVI AUGUSTI  
NEPTIS, UXORIS GERMANICI, &c.

THE young gentlemen, after having for some time surveyed this sepulchral urn with melancholy pleasure, gave their attention to *Crito*, who with a down-cast look proceeded as follows.

IF we consider *Germanicus* in his domestic life, we shall find him in that, as well as in other parts of his character, infinitely more respectable, infinitely more happy than *Tiberius*.

*TIBERIUS* was indeed in his earlier years a good brother: (the temper of *Drusus* being perhaps irresistibly amiable) but he afterwards became an enemy to all his family; he was a bad son, and a cruel husband to a wicked wife.

*GERMANICUS* on the contrary seems to have practised many of the virtues, and to have enjoyed many of the felicities of a family-life: for he was at first a good brother, and a good son; he afterwards (according to the usual progress of such a character) became a good father.

BUT let me desire you at present to consider him in his *conjugal* station.

THE

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THE dignity and happiness of *Germanicus* were both very considerably increased by his marriage with *Agrippina*.

THE character of *Agrippina* would indeed have been more amiable, if to her many other virtues she had added a greater degree of meekness and humility; if she had been less sensible of the high quality of her family, and of her own real merit; but (standing as we are at present before *that* urn, which probably for many centuries contained her bones) let us do that justice, let us pay that due tribute to her very respectable memory, to own that, among the matrons of heathen *Rome*, *Agrippina* is (notwithstanding these defects) one of the principal examples of conjugal virtue.

SHE attained that dignity of character partly by her own native goodness, partly by the influence and assistance of her beloved husband's examples.

*CRITO*, now paused for some moments to wipe away the tears which stood in his eyes, and which really hindered him from reading his paper of notes.

IN her arms (continued *Crito* with a groan) *Germanicus* expired; with her alone had he passed

his life from his earliest years: for he had the *great happiness* (may all the young part of this company have the same!) of *marrying early*; and of soon blessing both himself and his parents with the sight of no less than six of his children.

O MY noble young friend, you who so frequently enquire after proper subjects in the *Roman* story, on which you may employ some of the painters, whether *English* or *Italian*, now in this city; what subject can you find either more pleasing, or more instructive, than the scene of *Augustus*, placed on his imperial seat; and enacting the laws against celibacy\*, which at that time (in a manner much more destructive than any civil war) was wasting and extirpating the greatest families in *Rome*. Seated in that state, (perhaps on this very hill) he commanded that his great grandchildren, the children of *Germanicus*, should be brought into his presence. He then, in sight of the whole senate took up some of these little ones

in

\* The young reader is *most earnestly* referred on this occasion to the beginning of the fifty-sixth book of *Dio Cassius*, pag. 573—578. He is desired also to consult *Universal History*, vol. xiv. pag. 20.—*Tacit.* lib. iii. c. 25.—*Frenschm.* lib. lix. c. 53. with its note.

*Augustus libros totos & senatui recitavit, & populo notos per edictum sæpe fecit: ut orationes Q. Metelli de prole augenda, & Rutilii de modo ædificiorum, quo magis persuaderet utramque rem non à se primo animadversam, sed antiquis jam tunc curæ fuisse.*

*Sueton.* Augustus 89.

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in his arms, others he placed on the knees of the young prince their father; and with the happy and amiable pride of a parent, shewed to the assembly all these his treasures; inviting the young nobility of *Rome* to be sensible of such happiness, and to hasten to follow the example of his *Germanicus*. *Ne gravarentur imitari, juvenis exemplum.*

SUCH was *Germanicus* when he had scarce completed his twenty-fourth year.—Compare with this charming spectacle some parts of the character of *Tiberius*.

BUT indeed the contrast now grows far too dismal and horrid to be described by either pen or pencil. Its horrors are greatly augmented by the consideration, that *Tiberius's* enormous wickedness was continued to his old age. For (as I before observed), he seems not ever to have endeavoured to wash away with bitter tears the black and dismal crimes, of which he had been guilty.

No wonder, that, as soon as the death of this vilest of tyrants was publicly known, the universal hatred and detestation of his memory should break forth with the greatest indignation and fury. No wonder, that, in all the streets which encompass this hill, the populace should be crying out

G g 4

with

with the loudest clamours; some that his vile corpse, as unworthy of sepulture, should be cast into the river; (*Tiberius in Tiberim*) others, that it should with all ignominy be dragged from the palace-gates to the *public gibbet*; or exposed, like the bodies of other *far less guilty* malefactors, on the *Scala Gemoniæ*.

BUT let us not think any longer on that hateful subject.

IN contrast to this dishonourable conclusion of *Tiberius's* infamous life, let us turn our eyes again to the history of *Germanicus*.

O MY dear fellow-travellers, with what pleasure did you while at *Lyons* visit the pleasant hill, and survey the magnificent prospect of *Antiquaille & Forviere*\*, the place where *Germanicus* is said (I know not what on authority) to have been born? With what affection did you yesterday visit the place of his *sepulture* in the *Campo Marzo*? From his cradle to his grave the character of *Germanicus* was indeed almost always amiable as well as respectable.

*Virtutum*

\* Perhaps a corruption of the words *Æquum Palatium fori veteris*.



*Virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit: maximè probatus & dilectus a suis: dilectus etiam ab omnibus, in vitâ; & multò magis in morte, & post mortem.*

HIS reputation was so great as to have gained him multitudes of friends and admirers, even in countries which he had never seen. *Flebant Germanicum, etiam ignoti.*

MUCH stronger probably was the love and veneration of those who had really felt and been made happy by his goodness. The provincials, of whom he had been governor, the allies of the Roman empire, to whom he had been a very benevolent general and commander; even the enemies of Rome, to whom (after the horrors of the campaign were passed) he had been a merciful conqueror, all these cordially joined in honouring the memory and lamenting the fate of *Germanicus*.

BUT in relation to *Italy*, but in relation to *Rome*, the sincere affection and zealous love, which was here borne to *Germanicus* while alive, and the general grief, desolation, and even despair which attended and for a long time followed his departure, these were in all respects so very great, as far to exceed any power of description; with which even the genius of this place (the genius which you, my dear poetic pupil, may suppose hovering over and

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and protecting this urn of *Agrippina*) can possibly inspire us.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus*

*Tam chari capitis? Præcipe lugubres*

*Cantus Melpomene! cui liquidam pater*

*Vocem cum citharâ dedit.*

O MY dear fellow-travellers, continued *Crito* after some pause, if in our *Levant* travels we should ever pitch our tent amidst the ruins of *Antioch*, shall we not then, among many other subjects of meditation, recollect the death of *Germanicus*? Shall we not there give some serious thoughts to the scene of his last hour?

YET let me observe, that this scene would have been far more noble, if *Germanicus* had not then excited his friends to *revenge* his death. With a trembling voice let me add, that his virtue would have been far more perfect, if (like *St. Stephen*, or like some HOLIER PERSON, who was then living in sacred retirement in the neighbouring province of *Galilee*) he had expired blessing and praying for his murderers.

BUT let us not at present carry our thoughts so far as to our eastern travels. During our short intended tour of the kingdom of *Naples*, we shall  
see

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see several places, which will strongly remind us of *Germanicus's* death.

DURING that tour, you will certainly pass some days at *Brindisi*. While you, my dear pupil, shall be walking in the thick olive groves, with which that fertile coast is covered, and viewing from thence the two famous *horns* of that spacious haven; will you not be frequently inclined to recollect *Tacitus's* description of *Agrippina* landing at *that* port with the urn of *Germanicus* in her hands? and will not that recollection awaken in your mind some ideas of a sweet poetic melancholy?

IN your return from *Brindisi* to the northern parts of *Italy*, particularly at *Terracina*, you will call to mind the great public love, admiration, and grief, which followed the urn of *Germanicus* from *Brundisium* through all the provinces of *Italy*, to his grave at *Rome*.

I AM the more inclined to believe, that you will be strongly affected with this recollection, as in your journey through *France*, particularly when you were in the neighbourhood of *Strasbourg*, you often re-perused, and sometimes not without tears of pleasure, the descriptions given by the *French* historians of that public love and veneration which attended the corpse of *Turenne* through all the cities

cities and provinces of that great kingdom, to the royal mausolæum at *St. Dennis*.

I REMEMBER also the pleasure you expressed at the similar public respect, which was paid in our own country to the memory of our late youthful hero, General *Wolfe*. What address did any city or country then present to the throne of *Great Britain*, in which General *Wolfe's* name was not mentioned with terms of the greatest praise and love? I remember also your description of that eloquence, with which the House of Commons was then moved to vote (and it was voted *unanimously*) that a sepulchre should be erected to his memory at the public charge in *Westminster Abbey*.

BUT through what wanderings of thought have I led you? Permit me to close my paper of notes by desiring you to employ some of your first leisure hours in perusing afresh *Tacitus's* account of the general grief of *Rome* on the death of *Germanicus*. The great strength of sense of that historian will make ample amends to you for your patience in listening to whatever may have been the improprieties or follies of my imagination.

LET me, however, in proof of the utility which may be derived from the contrast of such characters, as those which I have this day endeavoured

to

IV. Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 461

to place before your eyes, submit to your reflections three or four lines of that historian.

*Exequi insignia per honestum, aut notabili dedecore præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit\*.*



CRITO having now concluded the morning's lecture, folded up his papers with a sigh, and sat down in silence.

HIS young friends entered into an ardent debate on some particulars which he had mentioned towards the conclusion of his lecture.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen compared the glorious fate of General *Wolfe* to that of *Epa-minondas*; and repeated with energy some expressions of *Valerius Maximus*. *Si eum Di immortales victoriis suis perfrui passi essent sospes gloriosior patriæ mania non intrasset.*

The young nobleman recollected several circumstances relative to the death of Marshal  
*Turenne.*

\* *Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. c. 64.*



*Turenne*. He lamented *Drusus* also cut down in the flower of his age during his *German* campaign. He then made some remarks on the excellence of that marble bust, which they had just now seen in the *Capitoline* musæum, and which represents *Drusus* in the prime of manhood.

YET why, said *Crito's* pupil, should the early death of *Drusus* be lamented? *Drusus* certainly had the happiness (the greatest happiness which a father can feel) of leaving a son who excelled him in virtue; a *Germanicus*.

Πατρὸς δ' οὕγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

Both father indeed and son died young: but neither of their deaths can be reckoned premature. For let us look only on the family of the *Cæsars*, and compare the short lives of *Drusus* and *Germanicus* with those of *Caligula* and *Nero*, none of whom survived the thirtieth year of his age; and surely we shall not want a proof that the height of human glory, as well as the depth of infamy, may be the consequence of the virtues and vices practised within those years.



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THE conversation now took some fresh *detours*; though in all the labyrinth of its unavoidable wanderings it still in general led to the proper object of this day's study the history of *Tiberius's* reign.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen spoke with proper respect of the historian *Cremutius Cordus*: he repeated on that occasion with pleasure some expression of *Seneca* \*. He then proceeded with horror to some of the other cruelties of *Tiberius*, and of (that infamy of prime ministers) *Sejanus*.

*CRITO* mentioned from *Tacitus* the banishment of some thousand Jews by *Tiberius* into the marshes of *Sardinia*—*si interirent, vile damnum*. He also mentioned from *Philo Judeus*, *Sejanus's* design of extirpating the whole Jewish nation.

*CRITO's* pupil on this occasion compared *Sejanus* to *Haman*; and following that tract of thought, recollected several verses of *Racine's Esther*, which seemed to him very applicable to the sudden fall of *Sejanus*.

*J'ai vu l'Impie adoré sur la terre :  
Pareil au cedre il cachoit dans les cieux  
Son front audacieux.*

H h

ll

\* See *Seneca's* consolation to *Martia*, *Martia* was the daughter of *Cremutius Cordus*.

*Il sembloit à son gré gouverner le tonnerre :*

*Fouloit aux piés ses ennemis vaincus.*

*Je n'ai fait que passer ; il n'étoit déjà plus.—*

*Miserable ! Le Dieu vengeur de l'innocence*

*Tout prêt à te juger, tient déjà sa balance :*

*Bientot son juste arrêt te sera prononcé.*

*Tremble. Ton jour approche, & ton regne est fini.*

—— *le Traître est expiré.*

*Par le peuple en fureur à moitié déchiré :*

*On traîne, on va donner en spectacle funeste*

*De son corps tout sanglant le miserable reste.*



THE company now went out of the court of the *Palazzo dei conservatori*. But the fall of *Sejanus* continued to be their topic while they were walking down the slope of the *Capitoline* hill towards the forum.

I HAVE been lately reading, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, *Dion Cassius's* account of the grandeur and fall of that infamous court-favourite\*.

*DION's* reflections on the vanity of all human pride strike me at present very strongly, while opposite

\* *Dio Cassius*, book lviii. p. 623 to 630..

## Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 465

posited to us on the *Palatine* mount, I see the ruins of that building, which *Sejanus* entered full of pride, full of expectation of being *that morning* invested with the tribunitian power. Close on our right hand is the temple of Concord, in which in the *afternoon of the same day* *Sejanus* was unanimously condemned to death; about one hundred yards on our left is the prison, in which *before night* he was strangled\*.

IN that dismal evening he saw perhaps from the grates of his cell the destruction of his statues in *this* forum, and heard the curses of the people on his memory.

THE then felt *vanity* of his excessive honours, riches, and ambitious hopes, must, together with the conscience of his horrid crimes, have greatly embittered the deep distress of his last hour.

*Ergo quod optandum foret ignorasse fatendum est*

*Sejanum: nam qui nimios optabat honores.*

*Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat*

H h

*Excelsæ*

\* The antique inscription *now remaining* on the prison walls was engraven in the ædileship of *Vibius* and *Cocceius Nerva*. They were consuls about four or five years after *Sejanus's* death. See *Abate Venuti*, vol. i. p. 58. The *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, where *Sejanus's* body was cast, were situate in that short, crooked, and steep lane, which passes by the side of the *Tullian* prison, and leads up to the *Capitol*.

*Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset  
Casus, & impulsæ præceps immane ruinae.*

CRITO's pupil repeated some verses of *Shakspear* relative to Cardinal *Wolfey*. I have often, added he, thought of those verses in passing thro' *Leicester*: we had fresh occasion to recollect them some weeks ago, when we were shewn the *Palazzo*, which was built by that Cardinal's orders, here at *Rome*.

I REMEMBER, said *Crito*, that when we were at *Milan* I met with a passage in *St. Austin's* works, which seems very applicable to the topic on which you are now conversing. It is the reflection of a person, who (if I am not mistaken) was of considerable rank in the court of the *Roman* emperor, predecessor to *Theodosius*.

"WITH all the pains we take, what doth  
"our ambition aspire to? What is it we seek, and  
"propose to ourselves?

"CAN we have any greater hopes at court than  
to arrive at the favour of the emperor? *Per  
quot pericula pervenitur ad illud grandius pericu-  
lum? Et quamdiu istud erit?*

*Amicus autem DEI, si voluero, ecce nunc fio.*

THE



Chap. IV. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 467

THE conversation now dwelt a considerable time on the outward splendor, but frequent real misery, of a ministerial or court life.

THE young nobleman communicated to his friends several very important reflections which he had heard from his father on these subjects,



THE company returned to their lodgings about dinner-time. But *Crito* made some excuse for not dining with them. He retired to his closet, and (it being *Saturday* afternoon) applied himself, as usual, to some sacred studies.

THE object of his meditation was a character remarkably contrary to the wickedness of this world; contrary as light to darkness: the character of the austere, pure, and holy *St. John* the Baptist.

It was *about the time of Sejanus's death*, that *St. John* came preaching in *Judea* the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.

*CRITO* passed some moments in considering this holy character in comparison with those which are generally found in *kings houses*: but he soon quitted that kind of thought, and began to apply the weighty doctrine of penitence *home to his own heart*.

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WHY should he look for faults among other men? He found enough in the memory of his own actions.

IN deep compunction of mind he shed several tears. He applied himself afresh to the study of the life of St. *John* the Baptist; he afterwards took up the poetical translation of the *Psalter*, lately published at *Arezzo*, by *Peter Rossi*; and perused two or three of the penitential Psalms.

HE perused also some part of that copy of verses, which is prefixed to the work, and in which the author thus addresses himself to the *Hebrew Psalmist*.

— *Canendi spiritum mibi impetra  
Tuo refusus qui calebat pectore,  
Tuis ut instem proximus vestigiis,  
Tuosque sensus, et verenda intelligam  
Tuis reposta versibus mysteria. —  
Id si negetur, et frequenti crimine  
Cacata mens spectare non tam altum potest,  
Placare læsi me doce iram Numinis  
Tua æmulantem exempla, et illas intimo  
E corde ductas ac salubres lacrymas,  
Quibus juventæ tu piasti improvidæ  
Errata, et æquum leniisti judicem.  
Id si impetraro, multò erit jucundius,  
Quàm si tua æmuler canendo carmina.*

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

IN the account of yesterday's transactions, no notice was taken of the manner in which the young gentlemen employed the afternoon,

THEY visited the Capitol, with an intention of recollecting in that place part of this morning's lecture: they passed some time there, conversing on the conclusion of *Tiberius's* wicked reign: they afterwards descended into the *Campo Vaccino*.

IN that part of the *Roman Forum*, which lies between the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills, stands a single marble column, of the *Corinthian* order, fluted, and about fifty feet in height.

IT is the opinion of some antiquarians, said the young nobleman, that this column made part of that bridge, which the successor of *Tiberius* built across the *Forum*. It may, with more probability perhaps, be supposed to have made part of some

of those temples, or porticoes, over which that bridge was carried.

I HAVE often thought, that such a bridge, thus joining the *Capitoline* and *Palatine* hills, might be of real and considerable convenience to the public: it probably saved much time, and many a wearisome step, to the industrious inhabitants of this part of *Rome*, which, in the time of *Caligula*, was the most populous, or at least the most frequented.

BUT, alas! far different was the motive of *Caligula*: his design in the erection of that bridge, was not beneficence to his subjects, but the indulgence of his own most absurd, and impious pride.

IN the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which stood near those three columns of *Jupiter Stator*, *Caligula* frequently seated himself between the statues of the *Dioscuri*; and from their temple he built this bridge to the Capitol, merely that he might, with more convenience and ease to himself, go often to receive the same horrid adoration in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

As to *Jupiter*, replied *Crito's* pupil, if we consider the history of that king of *Crete*, as given by

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by the poets, we shall not find his character to have been much better than that of *Caligula*.

BUT the inhabitants of the *Grecian* and *Roman* world (such was the extreme absurdity of paganism) to the word *Jupiter* connected a most different idea : the idea of the Great Creator and Preserver of the universe, the Most Beneficent, the Most Holy. If we consider the affair in this light, horrid indeed was the wickedness of *Caligula*, in daring to assume such a name.

I REMEMBER reading sometime ago with my tutor, the account given by *Josepbus* and *Philo* of *Caligula's* attempt to profane even the temple of *Jerusalem* by erecting his statue in it.

To what *incredible* degrees of *madness* does human pride sometimes extend !

A *Babylonian* monarch (if I am not mistaken) could so far yield to the flattery of his courtiers, as to forbid his subjects offering any petition to any god or man, but himself : this *Roman* emperor was impious enough to claim even *DIVINE* honours ; though he was in reality one of the vilest of monsters.



O MY dear friends, what a place of horror was then *that Palatine* mount ?

*Cur non apertæ tum fuerunt cælorum cata-  
ractæ?*

*Cur non rupti erant fontes abyssi magni?*

SURELY no antediluvian wickedness could be greater than that of *Caligula's* court.

AT least, why did not the *Tiber* then swell with ten-fold abundance of torrents, to wash away that *Palatine* hillock, and drown all the *Roman Campagna* in a broad asphaltite lake; while the *Tusculan* and *Sabine* mountains poured forth on it their sulphurous materials by the eruption of an hundred volcanoes?

BUT why should such expressions fall from my lips? Notwithstanding the unutterable abominations of the imperial palace, and great corruption of the public manners, there were doubtless, even during this reign, multitudes in *Rome* of a very different character. Of its meaner inhabitants several thousands probably lived in the faithful practice of the duties of their station, according to the light of nature. Many, in all likelihood,  
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were the virtuous persons then engaged in agriculture, commerce, or trade; many honest men were to be found in the professions. Some also, who were blessed by Providence with a more independent fortune, and who from the kindness of their parents had received a more ornamented education, passed their days happily in studious privacy; masters of their own time, and disposing it to the best purposes, meditation and works of beneficence. From the vain occupations of this vast city, from the false pleasures, honours, and riches, *recepere se ad tranquilliora, tutiora, majora. Tenuit illos in hoc genere vitæ multum bonarum artium, amor virtutum atque usus, cupiditatum obli-  
tio, vivendi atque moriendi scientia, alta rerum  
quies* \*.

IN all probability there were also, even in the higher conditions of life, several who lived in the practice of much moral virtue.

THERE was one eminent example of merit, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, even in the family of *Caligula*: I mean his father-in-law, the wise and good *M. Silanus*. But he could not live there long: he was one of the many persons  
who

\* See *Seneca de brevitate vitæ*: a treatise which was written (according to *Lipfius*) within some few days after the death of *Caligula*. *Modò intra paucos illos dies, quibus Gaius Cæsar perit, &c.*

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who perished by that tyrant's cruelty and ingratitude. *Caianæ cladis erat magna portio.*

YOUR temper, my dear friend, is meekness itself: *χρυσίον ωιον*. I use this expression in the same good sense in which *Dio* understood it. But it is no dishonour to such a temper, that it can kindle itself into a proper indignation at the thoughts of that most horrid impiety, that most abominable wickedness, that most bloody despotism, which reigned day and night in the court of *Caligula*.

*Hoc isti belluæ quotidianum est: ad hæc vivit, ad hæc vigilat, ad hæc lucubrat\*.*

EVEN if we were to confine our thoughts to the last article, I mean the political considerations, most odious surely ought to be the name, and most execrable the memory of that supreme magistrate, who could wish, that it was in his power to bid the ax fall on the neck of his whole people.

LET us not think any longer on his cursed reign. Let us rather reflect with satisfaction, that we are at present only some few steps distant from *that place*, where this tyrant received his due punishment from the hand of *Chærea*; *Chærea*, the third *Brutus*.

BUT

\* *Sententia de irâ, lib. iii. c. 18.*

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BUT I ought to hasten to correct that *verbum* *ordens*: *Caligula* deserved a more severe fate than either *Tarquin* or *Julius Cæsar*: but *Chærea* stained his glory by the murder of *Cæsonia* and her infant-daughter; a crime, of which certainly neither *Junius* nor *Marcus Brutus* would on any account have been guilty.

I REMEMBER when in my more youthful years, I read the history of *Caligula's* death, I felt much regret at the thought that such an opportunity for restoring the republic, offered itself in vain. For in vain was it that the walls of the Parliament-house on *that Capitoline* hill then echoed with the cry of liberty: the people crowded to the gates; not as antiently to applaud the conscript fathers for their zeal in their country's freedom; not, as in other times, to vent their jealous murmurs for some supposed infringement of the popular privileges; but to demand the immediate nomination of a new Despot.

I was, while at the university, red-hot with some democratic notions, and consequently I was highly shocked at this astonishing instance of *Roman* degeneracy. But as my admiration of *republican* liberty in particular is since that time very much cooled (though my zeal for liberty in general, I hope will always burn with due fervour and flame) so also is my indignation against the  
*Romans*

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*Romans* for their behaviour on this occasion somewhat abated. The *Roman* people had too much reason to remember the bloody history of the former civil wars; they had equal reason to fear that the dissensions in the senate, and the disobedience of the army, might soon (if a new emperor was not immediately elected) produce a renewal of the same calamities; calamities, which after much confusion and anarchy, much misery and blood-shed, would certainly terminate, as the former, in the establishment of a new absolute master.

BESIDES, there was another motive for their conduct: a motive in itself inexcusable, but which operated without resistance. The *origo mali* lay deep in the constitution of their heart, but necessarily shewed its virulence by these exterior symptoms. *Vice* had so much weakened and enfeebled all the nerves and muscles of the *national Roman* mind, as to render it neither worthy nor susceptible of the labours and perils of any kind of liberty.

THE city of *Rome*, replied the young nobleman, was indeed at that time corrupted by vice, in a much more dreadful manner than ever by any pestilence. For notwithstanding the charitable suppositions of our good friend here, certainly the

Chap. V.

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IV. Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 477

the imperial court, the nobility, the people breathed forth infernal contagion on each other.

HORRID as was the character of *Caligula*, yet his crimes would not have been so enormous, if he had ruled over a better nation.

MUCH of his wickedness is to be attributed to insanity of understanding: but more to the badness of his own heart, and to the examples among which he lived.

BUT let us not talk any longer on his enormous crimes. If we could banish *them* totally from our memory, I should then venture to consider the *other* parts of his character in a cooler manner; and to apply to them some reflections with which I remember your tutor favoured us on a former occasion.

HE observed \*, that the folly and vice, the pride and cruelty, which shock us in reading some parts of the *Roman* history, are only the extremes of that abuse, which we *see* every day made of less degrees of wealth and power.

I REMEMBER also my father's observing to me, that many young men of fortune in our own country,

\* See page 326 of the first volume.

country, while reading *Caligula's* reign, look on its contents as almost incredible : yet happy ought they to esteem themselves, if in their future life some of them do not become really of a very similar character ; that is, as far as their inferior degrees of wealth and power will permit : in a word, though innocent of his enormous crimes, yet otherwise *Caligulas* in miniature : bad in domestic life ; hating their aged relations ; but living in intimacy with gamesters, jockeys, and stage-players ; proud ; luxurious ; fickle ; impiously ungrateful to heaven for all its blessings ; lavishing their fortunes in various kinds of folly ; and then from want oppressing their tenants, and other dependants : — *dupes—fripons—tyrants* \*.

BUT let us quit this topic. If you please to take a little tour in the coach this evening, it may carry us round the *Cælian* hill, and from thence home by the *Strada Felice*.

*CRITO's* pupil, and his other companion, readily consented to this proposal of the young nobleman,

IN several parts of the *Cælian* hill they observed many lofty arches of a ruined aqueduct.

THAT

\* See *Dio's Caligula*, Χρηματα αφιδεγατα ανηλιστα, καὶ συνεστατα ηγγυρολογιαι.

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\* *Questi*  
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*comprend*  
*basta sap*  
*palmi 49*  
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THAT aqueduct, said the young nobleman, if I am not mistaken, was begun in the second year of *Caligula's* reign: for thanks to Providence *some* good is done to mankind even by the worst of men \*. It was finished by *Claudius*; according to the inscription still remaining over the *Porta Maggiore*. As the *Strada Felice* is not very far from that gate, we may, if you please, tell the coachman to drive thither.

\* \* \*

THE *Porta Maggiore* is a stately monument †, erected by the emperor *Titus* in memory of the great work of the *Claudian* aqueduct. Over its arches are three inscriptions, the upper one of which is as follows.

Ti-

\* *Quid Nerone pejus?*

*Quid thermis melius Neronianis?*

Mart.

\* Quest' edificio e uno de' piu belli dell' antica Roma; ed e d' altezza e di grossezza piu di ogni altro singolare. E fabbricato di macigni di travertino congiunti insieme senza calce; sostenuto di quattro grandi archi con colonne alla rustica d'ordine Ionico.— Per comprendere di qual magnificenza siano gli archi di questo monumento basta sapere che quello, che in oggi forma la porta ha di lunghezza palmi 49, e ciascun pezzo di travertino e grosso palmi 3 once 3 lungo palmi 9 once 5, e taluno 2½ ed e composta tutta l'alta e vasta arcata di soli 26 pezzi di pietra.

Abate Venuti, v. p. 124, 125.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi. f. Caiſar Auguſtus Germanicus Pontif. Maxim. Tribunicia potestate XII. Coſ. v. Imperator XXVII. Pater Patriæ aquas Claudiam ex fontibus qui vocantur cæruleus et Curtius, a milliar XXXV. item Anienem novum a milliario LXII. ſua impenſa in urbem perducendas curavit.*

THE two inſcriptions, which are ſubjoined to this, are in honour of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*. Each of which emperors thought it an honour to repair or improve this aqueduct.

IT is obſerved, ſaid the young nobleman, I think either by *Suetonius* or *Aurelius Viſtor*, that *Veſpaſian* repaired ſeveral of *Claudius's* works, as well as completed that temple on *Monte Celio*, which was erected in his honour, but which had been ungratefully neglected, or in part demolished, by *Nero*.

As to the temple, it would have been certainly much better, if *Veſpaſian* had left it in its ruins; the aqueduct, on the other hand, as a work of public benefit, had a juſt claim on him, and on all future emperors, for its ſupport.

THE water conveyed to *Rome* by this aqueduct was of great convenience to the inhabitants; eſpecially to thoſe who then in great numbers dwelt on the ſummit of her ſeven hills: it was alſo in

its nature almost equally good with the *Aqua Martia*; and consequently it seems to have been well worth the expence and labour of its conveyance; though exclusive of its long subterranean channel, and of its upper canal, it is carried upon arches in different places near ten miles. The new river from the *Anio*, which is joined to the *Aqua Claudia*, is also carried about seven miles upon arches; several of which are one hundred feet in height.

It seems very strange, said *Crito's* pupil, that such a reign as that of *Claudius* should be ennobled by so splendid and so useful a work.

*CLAUDIUS's* mind was generally buried in the deepest stupidity; stupidity encreased by gluttony and other vices: yet surely it must have been at times surprisngly illuminated by some lucid interval of good sense, or by some brighter ray of benevolence.

*SUETONIUS* observes of *Claudius*, as to his behaviour when seated on the tribunals of justice, *Mirâ animi varietate fuit; modo circumspēctus, & sagax; modo inconsultus, ac præceps; nonnunquam frivolus, amentique similis.* The same observation is doubtless applicable to the other parts of *Claudius's* history.



IT should seem indeed at first sight probable, that the actions of wise benevolence, with which *Claudius's* reign is adorned, (which were numerous, and some of which required a vigorous and a continued exertion of reasoning) are to be ascribed to the virtues and abilities of his ministry; especially as his reign was a reign of favourites. But on the contrary history assures us, that *Claudius's* ministry was in general composed of persons much more wicked than himself: persons whose total attention seem to have been given to works of various vices, but peculiarly of rapaciousness, pride, and bloody revenge. Such at least was the character of his empresses, *Messalina* and *Agrippina*; and perhaps also of his two head-servants, *Narcissus* and *Pallas*. In a word, it was a court fit only for the education of a *Nero*.

*DIO* seems to charge most of the crimes of this reign to the prevailing influence of the courtiers, and to leave the merit of all the laudable acts and benevolent designs in it to the emperor himself; though the emperor was sensible only by fits; and (what appears still more contradictory) frequently very cruel. For *Claudius* was cruel, not only from a false notion of justice, or from a cowardly case of self-preservation, or lastly from a shamefully stupid submission to the will of his ministry; but also (according to *Suetonius*) from a

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Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 483

real delight in the most shocking acts of inhumanity\*.

IN what manner then can we account for this paradox? Certainly we cannot do it in a better manner than by considering it (according to the hint which you just now gave us) as one of the many proofs, that there is an over-ruling Providence; a Providence which originally created light of darkness, and which both in public and in private affairs, sometimes condescends to draw good out of evil; to employ the hands even of the wicked, and the counsels of madmen or fools, as instruments in performing some of its all-wise and all-gracious designs for the benefit of mankind.



THE company now stept into their coach. In their way home the young nobleman took notice, that *Claudius's* reign was ennobled by another work still more beneficial to this vast city.

I i 2

I MEAN,

\* *Sævum & sanguinarium fuisse magnis minimisque apparuit rebus.—Bestiariis, meridianisque adeò delectabatur, ut etiam primâ luce ad spectaculum descenderet; & meridiæ dimisso ad prandium populo, perfederet; præterque destinatos etiam levi subitâque de causâ quosdam committeret: de fabrorum quoque ac ministrorum atque id genus numero si autopator vel pegma vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset, &c.* Suetonius.

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I MEAN, said he, the very useful sea-port, which this emperor made on that branch of the *Tiber* which lies some few miles north-west of *Ostia*.

I WISH, that when we were on our last excursion to *Ostia*\*, we had taken that opportunity of viewing its remains, if any: I hope, however, that we shall visit the place before we take our leave of *Rome*. We will carry thither some prints and plans, as well as some antique medals, which have reference to that celebrated haven. Those medals and plans will be of the more use to us, as I am afraid we must not flatter ourselves, that we shall find many traces remaining either of its ornamental or of its more substantial parts. According to the description which we have heard of *Fiumicino*, the winds and waves have totally changed the face of that shore.

*Nunc tantum sinus, & statio malefida carinis.*

BUT how deeply soever both the *moles* and *pharos* of *Claudius's* haven may be now buried in the sands, yet it is some pleasure to consider, that its splendor is in some manner still subsisting in that place; where, and where only, most of the grandeur of antient *Rome* is preserved; I mean in her history and her coins.

DIO

\* See vol. i. pag. 29.

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*DIO Cassius's* description of the grandeur, and public utility of this sea-port, is happily still remaining\*. When I come to my lodgings, I will compare it with what *Dionysius* says of king *Anax's* haven.

I. I am not mistaken, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, not only *Vespasian* and *Titus*, but the emperor *Trajan* also, among his many glorious labours for the benefit of this country, thought it an honour to repair some of the works of *Claudius*.

EXCESSIVE is the contempt which is generally cast on the memory of *Claudius*: equally excessive perhaps is the veneration paid to the name of *Trajan*.

WITH difficulty can it be imagined, that *Trajan* was in some respects an imitator of *Claudius*. Yet certainly in several instances he followed *Claudius's* designs: but in none more manifestly than in the

I i 3

repa-

\* The great famine which raged at *Rome* in *Claudius's* reign, prompted him to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the *Tiber*; which vast work he happily completed, though *Cæsar* the dictator, if some mistake has not crept into *Suetonius*, had, many years before, attempted it in vain. It was an undertaking, says *Dio Cassius*, worthy of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire: but the successors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it: so that, soon after his death, it was choaked up with sand, and became quite useless.

Universal History, vol. 14. p. 329.

reparation of that haven; for, if I am not mistaken, *Trajan* repaired *that* sea-port, as well as those of *Civita-Vecchia* and *Ancona*.

*TRAJAN* is said also to have prosecuted another project of *Claudius*; the project for draining the *Fucine* lake.

I HAVE often wished, replied the young nobleman, that some ingenious traveller, after having passed a year or two in making the common tour of *Italy*, would allow another year, not to the extending of his travels into the *Levant*, but rather to the visiting of those provinces of the *Tuscan*, *Ecclesiastic*, or *Neapolitan* state, which lie out of the beaten track of travellers, but which probably contain many curious remains of antiquity.

IN passing through the *Abruzzo* (for instance) he could not, I apprehend, fail of finding some very considerable remains of that work at the *Fucine* lake, which you mention; and which employed thirty thousand labourers during eleven years of *Claudius*'s reign.

WHAT would be your sentiments, my dear friend, in viewing that lake, and the channel of its *emissario*? If I should ever attend you thither, my thoughts would be perhaps employed in forming the idea of that magnificent but bloody spectacle  
which



Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 487

which *Claudius* exhibited on its waves; while all the hills around it were covered with the inhabitants of that part of *Italy*, like the sides of a vast amphitheatre: but *your* mind would be busy in the *much more noble* contemplation of the real public utility of the project itself.

I AM confident you are of opinion, that this attempt of *Claudius*, though it failed of success, yet deserves to be mentioned in the *Roman* history with peculiar honour.

THE addition of such a supply of water to the current of the *Tiber*, was surely, according to *Dio* (for *Tacitus* mentions the *Liris*) a design very favourable to the improvement of the inland navigation of *Italy*.

THE addition of so many thousand acres of fertile soil to its territory, was also a very important object. The space of ground covered by that lake would have given bread to the inhabitants of many new towns; if the scheme of draining it had not failed, first by the negligence or avarice of *Claudius's* ministry, and afterwards by the envy of *Nero*.

I REMEMBER, my dear friend, some of your observations on a similar topic, when we were

crossing the *Beemster* in *North Holland*\*: it was some few days after we had been seeing *Corbulo's* canal from *Leyden* and *Delft* to *Maeslandt Sluys*.

THE draining of lakes, the opening of havens, the building of aqueducts, are indeed, said *Crito's* pupil, works of great public utility; but I own myself much more pleased with some *other* actions of *Claudius's* reign.

WHEN I consider the vast multitudes which then inhabited this extensive metropolis, I cannot help admiring and even loving the memory of *Claudius* for the constant, the anxious care which he took in supplying them with bread, during several years of scarcity and famine. *Ad subvebendos etiam hyberno tempore commeatus nihil non exco- gitavit.* A strange expression *that* of *Suetonius*,  
if

\* There is in *North Holland* an essay made of the possibility of draining great lakes; by one about two leagues broad having been made firm land, within these forty years.

This makes that part of the country called *Beemster*, being now the richest soil of the province, lying upon a dead flat divided with canals, and the ways through it distinguished with ranges of trees, which make the pleasantest summer landscape of any country I have seen of that sort.

There is one very great lake of fresh water still remaining in the province of *Holland* by the name of *Harlem Meer*, which might, they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty addition of land.—Much discourse has there been about such an attempt, &c.

Sir *William Temple's* Account of *Holland*.

V. Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 489

if *Claudius* was really (as is commonly imagined) sunk in continual stupidity.

WITH much greater veneration ought we to recollect *Claudius's* philanthropic design of extending the privileges of this city to many of the nations which were subject to her dominion.

I SPEAK this in reference, not merely to his kindness to the people of *Ilium*, *Rhodes*, *Cos*, or *Byzantium*: *Claudius* was very generous in granting the *Roman* privileges to the natives of many other less celebrated countries. A generosity, which though much abused in many particular cases, and sometimes practised with great levity, yet certainly in general was highly laudable.

THIS intention of *Claudius* is shamefully ridiculed by the author of that satyrical treatise, commonly known by the title of the *Αποκολοκυντωσις*. I can scarce imagine *Seneca* to have been really the author of that piece; at least of some passages which we now find in it: they are most contradictory to the contents of that oration, which he himself composed to be spoken by *Nero* at *Claudius's* funeral\*; as well as to that epistle, which, some years before, he inscribed to *Polybius*. Permit me to repeat my hopes, that some critic may arise, able to clear *Seneca* from the dishonour of having

\* See *Tacitus*, *Annal.* lib. xiii. c. 3.

having sat down to write so very mean-spirited a satire\*.

IT is true, that the stupidity and wickedness of [ *Claudius* were at times excessive: but they both certainly had their intervals. This his intention, of which we are now speaking, was surely a design replete with humanity and true political wisdom; a design which would have done very great honour to the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, or *Marcus Aurelius*.

I REMEMBER reading with great pleasure, in the eleventh book of *Tacitus*, *Claudius's* speech from the throne on the admission of some of the *Gallic* nobility to seats in the *Roman* senate. In the debate, even those senators who opposed the bill, did not however make any objection to the privileges of *Roman* citizenship being granted to the inhabitants of that province.

It

\* Poison, and murder, domestic and civil treason, are no jests. *Capitalia crimina ludis*. (See Epigrams prefixed to *Consol. ad Helviam*)—It is said by *Dio*, the enemy of *Seneca*, that *Seneca* composed a satire on the memory of *Claudius* called the *Αποκολοκυντωσις*. But it does not appear certain, that the treatise we now have under that name, is really that work.—*De titulo libri inter eruditos non convenit. Beatus Rhenanus, qui reperisse & primus typis publicasse dicitur, ludum de morte Claudii Cæsaris appellasse potius quam sic invenisse creditur. Junius & omnis jam passim Claudii Cæsaris Αποκολοκυντωσιν, Dione præeunte nuncupatum vadunt.*

See *Fromondus's* præface to it in *Lipsius's* edition.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 491

IF I am not mistaken, continued *Crito's* pupil, our countrymen are reckoned among the nations, to whom *Claudius* intended that favour. *Constituerat omnes Græcos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos, togatos, videre.* Whether or no, the satyrift had any real foundation for this (probably much exaggerated) assertion, I cannot tell. But it should seem probable, from a passage in *Dio*, (if I remember it right) that the conditions offered by *Claudius* to the *Britons*, bore at least a mild and favourable appearance\*.

BUT however that might be, surely such a flattering proposal could have but little weight with the *Britons*, in whose breasts a love of liberty, and a warm zeal for their country's true welfare has, I trust, always glowed. The privileges of the *Roman* citizenship, might be some comfort, some considerable relief to the nations already sunk under the *Roman* yoke: but by the unconquered inhabitants of our island it never could be esteemed as any thing in the balance against the invaluable privileges of their native freedom.

MANY

\* Ταυτα μιν δη δια τα Βρεταννικα επραχθη, κ' ΙΝΑ  
ΤΕ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΡΑΟΝ ΕΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΙΩΣΙΝ, εψηφισθη,  
κας συμβασεις απασας, οσας αν ο Κλαυδιος, η κ' οι  
αυτις ρατηγοι αυτα, πρ' τινας ποιησωνται, κυριας, ως  
κ' πρ' την βελην τον τε δημον, ειναι.

*Dio Cassius*, lib. lx.



MANY thanks to you, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, for that noble sentiment. The glorious spirit of national liberty, which you express, beats in every pulse, I am sure, and pants in every breast of this company.

I HAD some intention to take a copy this afternoon of the inscription on that antique marble, which is preserved in the wall of the *Barberini* terras. But fired as we are at present by your generous sentiments, how could we bear to fix our eyes on such an object \*?

THERE is not (continued he, after a pause of some minutes, during which he seemed absorbed in deep thought) there is not any part of *Tacitus's* works, the loss of which, as *Englishmen*, we have more reason to regret, than those books of his *Annals*, which contained the beginning and first events of the *British* wars during *Claudius's* reign.

*Dio's*

\* The inscription on this marble (which marble perhaps originally stood over *Claudius's* triumphal arch in the *Via lata*) is as follows.

TI. CLAUDIO CÆS.  
AUGUSTO  
Pontifici Max. Tr. p. IX.  
Cos. V. Imp. 16. P. P.  
Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod  
Reges Britanniae. Absque ulla  
Jactura domuerit. Gentesque Barbaras  
Primus indicio subegerit.

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 493

*Dio's* history also in its present curtailed condition is by far too concise on that subject.

*CLAUDIUS* is said to have been in *Britain* little more than a fortnight. Probably he went over merely to accept the honour of the surrender of *Maldon*. *Suetonius* agrees with the *Barberini* marble in saying, that there was no bloodshed (at least, it may be supposed, among the *Roman* legions) on that occasion: but, according to *Dio*, there was a battle. In all probability there was no more either of a battle, or siege, than what was barely sufficient to qualify the emperor for the honour of a triumph, and to entitle him to treat the people with the shew of the siege of *Maldon*, or *Colchester*, acted in the *Campo Marzo* \*. The invasion of *Britain* was indeed, as far as *Claudius* himself was concerned in it, little more than a vain pageantry: but in relation to *Plautius*, *Vespasian*, and his other lieutenants, it was a very serious work, a very long and difficult labour.

*TACITUS's* account of the first eight years of that war is unhappily lost. During those eight years that part of our island which lies nearest the continent, the whole tract from the shores of the *British* channel to the banks of the *Severn*, *Avon*,  
and

\* *Edidit et in campo Martio expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam, & deditionem Britanniae regum, praeseditque paludatus.* *Suetonius.*

and *Nen*, seems to have been slowly and gradually subdued by the *Roman* armies; not without much resistance of our brave islanders; not without their often (according to *Shakespeare's* words) *grinning like lions, on the pikes of their hunters*. Often then in our hills and woods was heard the conflict of war: often did our silver streams run purple with blood; *British* blood, shed from *those naked breasts*, which in the glorious cause of their country's liberty, *stept before targes of proof*.

*SUETONIUS* says of *Vespasian*, in *Britannia* *tricies cum hoste conflixit*. It should seem very improbable, that *Vespasian* could be present at all the engagements in these *British* wars: it is most likely, that besides those *thirty* battles, there were many other bloody fields, which he never saw.

IN thinking on this subject, my dear friends, what ought to be the emotion, the ardour of an *English* heart?—Never did I hear the last act of *Shakespeare's Cymbeline* performed at *Drury-Lane*, without feeling myself much and strongly agitated.—If a fable could so transport me, what ought to be the effect of real history?

*MR. Pitt*, in the heat of one of his most noble orations, dared to compare the magnanimity of  
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Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 495

*British* liberty to the description of the horse in *Job* \*.

O FOR a stile so animated ! O for equal thunder of eloquence !

PARDON me, my dear friends, for this rapture. But how can I avoid wishing for the abilities of such an orator, while I am on such a topic ? And why should we not think the courage of our islanders to have exerted itself as nobly in this war of self-preservation against the *Romans*, as ever since on any other call.

FOR let us consider not only the many engagements, or, in other words, the activity of this war, but its *duration* also.

FROM

\* See chapter xxxix. ver. 19.

*Nunquid præbebis equo fortitudinem, aut circumdabis collo ejus binnitum ?*

*Nunquid suscitabis eum sicut locustas ? gloria navium ejus terror.*

*Terram ungulâ fodit, exultat audacter, in occursum pergit armatis.*

*Contemnit pavorem, nec cedit gladio.*

*Super ipsum sonabit pharetra, vibrabit hasta & clypeus.*

*Fervens & fremens sorbet terram, nec reputat tubæ sonare clangorem.*

*Ubi audierit buccinam dicit : Vah, procul odoratur prælium, exhortationem ducum & ululatum exercitus.*

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FROM the time of the *Roman* invasion in *Clau-*  
*dius's* reign, to the entire reduction of our island  
 under *Domitian*, was a space of *above forty years*.  
 I have been with pleasure calculating that it was  
*so long* before the *Roman* power (though then at  
 its height) could conquer *Britain*. The *Britons*  
 probably would never have been subdued by all  
 the force of this mighty empire, if they had been  
 as much accustomed to the *Roman* art military, as  
 the contemporary *Germans* were: or if they had  
 been then happily connected and united under  
 the standard of one prince. *Sed, dum singuli pug-*  
*nant, omnes vincuntur* \*. Unsuccessful were their  
 struggles, yet were their heroisms highly glori-  
 ous: *Nulla tum in detrectandis periculis formido*.  
 Of that weakness the *Britons* were accused, after  
 they were conquered and corrupted. *Amissa*  
*virtute pariter & libertate*: but in those early days,  
 while they were yet free, they were eminently  
 valiant.

*O quàm multorum opera egregia in obscuro jacent.*

WHO would not wish for a more particular de-  
 tail of their atchievements? But how brief, how  
 defective is this part of our national history? We  
 receive more information in relation to the affairs  
 of ancient *Britain* from *Tacitus* than from any  
 other

\* *Vita Agricolaë*, c. 12.



other writer : yet surely that information, though most sensible and authentic, is far from being sufficiently ample, or particular.

OFTEN have I wished ; not only that the works of *Tacitus* had come down to us complete ; but also that *Tacitus* had composed another history, and that not a concise one, but of a just size, expressly on the subject of the *forty years war* in *Britain*.

IN such a work the patriotic fortitude of *Caesar*, of *Galgacus*, and of many other *British* heroes, whose achievements are now lost in oblivion, would have appeared in due splendor and dignity : not contracted in their proportions (merely to give space in the picture for the horrid forms of the contemporary wickednesses of *Rome*) but represented in full magnitude. Many successive generations of *British* youths would have gazed with ardour on the glorious portraits : *interea animos ad virtutem vehementissimè accendi ; flammam in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm majorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverint*\*.

INDEED, dear sir, replied *Crito's* pupil, I have sometimes framed the same kind of wish. For such a work would have been highly valuable, not

VOL. II,

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only

\* See vol. i. p. 427.

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only on that important account which you mention, but for several other less weighty reasons,

THE *student of English history, whatever were his time of life, or temper of mind*, would probably consider such a book as one of the most favourite volumes in his library.

THE *antiquarian* would certainly find in it materials for a much more accurate description of the rivers and hills in ancient *Britain*, and of the boundaries of her several nations, than what he can now collect from all the authors who have written on the subject. With great satisfaction he would learn from thence the true course of many of her public ways, and the true situation and origin of many of her cities. But his greatest feast would be in those digressions, which we may suppose to have treated of religious doctrines, sciences, and perhaps seats of learning belonging to the *Druids*.

VESPASIAN, if I am not mistaken, conquered the isle of *Wight*, and several other *British* principalities, which probably lay between that island and the territory of the *Dobuni*; which territory, if I mistake not, contained the counties of *Oxford* and *Glocester*. I have been told, that there is a place in *Wiltshire*, not far from *Stonehenge*, still called  
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by the name of *Vespasian's* camp. The disciples of Dr. *Stukeley* would consequently, in a clear and ample history of *Vespasian's* campaigns, reasonably expect to find some description of the *Druidical* temples at *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, as they appeared in those times, when their barbarous grandeur was probably still entire.

I REMEMBER going last *April* was twelvemonth to the vast amphitheatrical temple of *Abury*\* with my tutor, and there listening to some of his opinions on the doctrine of the *Druids*. Several of their tenets he admired and revered; particularly the capital articles of their belief, the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of that future state, in which charity, as well as patriotic fortitude, are to be rewarded†: articles of belief, which very much to the honour of our parts of *Europe* were retained firmly and ardently by our *British* ancestors; at the same time, that the corrupted inhabitants of *Greece* and *Rome* seem to have been endeavouring by luxury and sophistry to extinguish in their breasts every spark of that noble and blessed hope, which is kindled by the breath of

K k 2

nature

\* The circumference of the mound of that amphitheatre is not less than eighteen hundred yards.

† Compare *Seneca* with *Lucan*, lib. i. v. 443.

nature in the hearts of all mankind, even in the most rude and wild.

ON the other hand, it was *with much aversion* that my tutor mentioned some of the bad rites and (as it were *North American*) doctrines of the *Druids*. He pitied their superstitions ; he abominated the cruel sacrifices of their captives : and on this last account, expressed strongly his joy, that the *Romans* by the abolition of Druidism had cleared the way for the future progress of the Christian Religion.

BEFORE my tutor had turned my attention to so serious a train of thought, I was employed in another manner. I was hammering out a copy of verses. Cold indeed, or rather totally dead must have been my imagination, if it had not been *then* susceptible of some poetic ideas ; while I was treading the soft turf of *Abury* amidst the circles of those moss-grown stones ; or musing in the long meadow, which leads from that temple to the silver springs of the *Kennet*, and to the verdant pyramid of *Silbury*.

IN the center of that pyramid, in all likelihood, rests the dust of a *British* king, a brave protector of his people in war, and a munificent founder of religious edifices. The temple of *Abury* was probably

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IV. Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 501

bably his work. Often has his name been repeated in the songs of *British* poets ; though it is now totally unknown, or but uncertainly guessed at. Often around that hill, in the solemn ceremony of annual assemblies,

*Vos quoque (qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas  
Laudibus in longum vates demittitis ævum)  
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi :  
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum  
Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis.*

BUT let me not wander too much from the subject, on which you, dear sir, were just now speaking.

I CANNOT but be of opinion, that the *history* of Britain, during those forty years, would have furnished very rich and abundant matter for poetic imagery : the mixture of barbarism in it would not have been of any disservice.

IF such an history had been extant, the adventures of its heroes and heroines would have been celebrated by the harps of *Shakespear*, *Spenser*, and *Milton*, with peculiar sweetness. All the *epic*, *lyric*, and *tragic* muses of modern Britain would probably have selected from thence their favourite themes ; they would have considered that epocha



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with as much love and respect, as the muses of *Greece* and *Rome* paid to the inexhaustible story of the wars and fall of *Troy*.

EVEN the *politician* would not disdain to give deep attention to the contents of such a work of *Tacitus*. For, however barbarous *Britain* might then be in her national manners, in her few laws and rough form of government, yet surely many important propositions and useful maxims might be deduced from a judicious and faithful description of them.

THE history of our ancestors, even of those who are most remote from our times and customs, will always be found to contain something instructive to their posterity. Such I remember was your reflection, when you was reading to me at *Hanover* *Tacitus's* essay *de moribus Germanorum*; and tracing out from thence the origin of the manners, and government of our *Anglo-Saxon* fathers: a reflection, certainly not unapplicable to our *British* ancestors also, and to the history of our island in *their* times.

LET us judge of the utility of their history in general from one article, of which we have some knowledge. I mean the all-supporting article of population. *Britain*, though destitute of manu-  
factures

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*factures* and *commerce*, and probably but little instructed in the *art* of agriculture, yet seems in the times of *Claudius*, and of his successor, to have been at least as full of people as at present. According to the short account of *British* affairs which we *now* find in *Tacitus*, the number of slain in the defeat of one *British* army, and in the destruction of two *British* cities, amounted to not less than one hundred and fifty thousand \*. If I am not mistaken, *Cæsar* also says in his commentaries, that *Britain* was in his time inhabited *vi infinitâ hominum*. I should be glad to see these facts (if true) rationally accounted for. Such a discussion would certainly lead you to some very important reflections.

BUT I forgot that I am all this while interrupting you. You were speaking of the progress of the *Roman* arms in the conquest of our island.

INDEED, dear sir, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, I had much rather follow your train of ideas, than return to my former unpleasant topic.

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\* Annal. lib. xiv. c. 33. 37. *Boadicea's* army (according to *Dio Cassius*) consisted of 120,000 in the beginning of her insurrection: it afterwards encreased to 230,000: but in this almost incredible multitude, it is probable that even the women and children, who flocked in great throngs to the camp, are to be reckoned. Even so, the number is astonishing.

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IT is true, that the progress of the *Roman* arms in the western or eastern frontiers of the empire, is a much more manly object of thought, than the degenerate manners of the contemporary *senate* and *people of Rome*, (if they deserve to be called by *that* name) or the vile arcana of the court of the *Cæsars*. It is true, that the labours of *Corbulo*, and other *Roman* generals, who commanded with honour in the reign of *Claudius*, are noble enough to be able to recall to our memory the history of some of the most celebrated heroes in the *Roman* republic \*. It is observed, if I am not mistaken, by the author of the *Spirit of Laws*, that the military virtues of this city survived all the rest. But what was the object of these virtues? (as they are *most improperly* called) The invasion, the slaughter, the plunder, the enslaving of innocent nations. At least such was the case in *Britain*.

THE

\* The character of *Corbulo* seems in several particulars to bear a resemblance to that of *Scipio Africanus*.

Ομοια γαρ τοις πρωτοις Ρωμαιων, εχ οτι τω γενει λαμπρο, η τω σωματι ισχυρο, αλλα η τη ψυχη αρτιφωνη, η πολυ μεν το ανδρειον, πολυ δε η το δικαιον, τοτε πωσιν εις παντας, η τας οικειας, η τας πολεμικας ειχεν.

*Dio. lib. lxii. c. 19.*

Mixed with these great qualities, there were unhappily some ingredients of vanity and ostentation, and (what is much more to be lamented) a considerable degree of that *Roman* ambition, which was not sufficiently sparing of human blood.

THE first commander in chief of that *British* invasion was *Plautius*.

IN our late journey to *Tivoli*, I stood for some minutes on the *Ponte Lucano*, viewing that adjoining massy tower, which is the mausolæum of the *Plautian family* \*. My thoughts at that time were engaged on the history of this *Plautius*, of whom we are now speaking. My sentiments in regard to him were very fluctuating: I was not without some respect to the memory of his military merit; but I felt much more horror in recollecting that he was the destroyer of my country. Perhaps around that tower, at the time of his funeral rites, much *British* blood was shed in sport, in the same manner, as here in the *Circus* or *Forum*, at the time of his ovation †. Such were the horrid cruelties of

\* See vol. i. pag. 168.

† Πλαυτίου ἀπο τῆς Βρεταννικῆς πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῦ χειριστὰς καὶ κατόρθωσας, καὶ ἐπηνεθῆ ὑπο τῆς Κλαυδίου, καὶ ἐθριαμβεύσε· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπελευθερώων, καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλῶτοι οἱ Βρετάννοι ἐμαχέσαστο· καὶ πολλὰς ὄσας καὶ ἐν τούτῳ εἶδει τῆς θεᾶς ἀνηλίσκει, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσεμνύετο.

*Dio Cassius, lib. lx.*

If *Plautius's* wife, *Pomponia Græcina*, was really (as some writers think) a Christian, with what horror must she have looked on this scene of pride and wanton cruelty; and with what heart-felt grief, that her husband was concerned in it?

It seems very observable, that in the reign of *Claudius*, eloquence and other polite literature flourished much in *Rome*:  
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of *Rome* even in those ages which are thought the most civilized and polite. For, though the *Romans* did not then, so frequently as formerly, murder their captive kings in cold blood after the triumph, yet they seem to have continued as inhuman as ever to the common race of mankind.

THE next *Roman* general who ravaged *Britain*, was *Ostorius*. He laid our country waste almost to the shore of the *Irish* sea. From the concise account of his campaigns in *Tacitus*, we are led to estimate highly his activity and other military virtues; but at the same time to form a very exalted idea of *British* valour.

I HAVE often regretted, that, when we were at *Ludlow*, we did not know how near we were to *Brampton Brian*, and *Caer Caradock*; the places where *Caractacus* struggled for *British* liberty against the legions of *Ostorius*.

WITH

five centuries afterwards all the arts and sciences of the *Roman* empire were perishing under the cold influence of northern ignorance, yet even under those great disadvantages, Christianity was able to render the hearts of the *Roman* people much more humane than formerly. Many instances might be produced of this fact. It may be sufficient in this note just to hint the contrast between the cruelty of *Plautius* to his *British* prisoners, and the charitable sentiments of *Gregory* the Great when seeing in the *Roman Forum* some poor captives of the same country.



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WITH what poetic pleasure would you have walked amid those venerable oaks, which *Camden* (I think) describes as in his time shading *Brampton Brian*; and which, perhaps, may have vegetated there, in a constant succession of plants, ever since the *Druidical* ages?

WITH what patriotic raptures should we all have viewed the river near *Caer Caradock*; and those rocks, on which *Caradacus* stood encouraging his fellow-countrymen to the combat \*?

IN that battle much valour was exerted on both sides. The *Britons* were in a very strong situation, but the *Romans* had the much greater advantage of numbers, and of proper arms, and, above all, the irresistible weight of excellent discipline.

YET, though defeated in that bloody field, the brave *Silures* still continued the war; they continued their opposition with such spirit, and by degrees with such success, that *Ostorius* at length sunk under it. Vexation and disappointment, added to the other cares and fatigues of his unsuccessful expedition,

\* Enimvero Caradacus, huc illuc volitans, illum diem, illam aciem testabatur, aut recuperandæ libertatis aut servitutis æternæ initium fore. Vocabatque nomina majorum, qui dictatorem Cæsarem pepulissent; quorum virtute vacui a securibus & tributis, innumerata conjugum & liberorum corpora retinerent.

Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 34.

pedition, broke his heart. He died in *Britain*. Perhaps his bones still lie there interred under some lofty barrow, or pile of stones on our coasts, in the same manner as the corpse of *Ajax* was buried on the shore of *Troy*. May they remain undisturbed!

BUT what must have been the sentiments of *Caractacus*, when, during his captivity, he heard that his *Silures* (though threatened with extirpation) were still in arms? With what ardour must he have wished to be then among them on the banks of the *Severn* or *Wye*, hazarding his life again for the deliverance of his country?

IF you, my dear friend, (in saying this, he turned to *Crito's* pupil) was to employ your mind in some poetic meditations on the noble indignation, which *Caractacus* probably felt at his being obliged to lie idle at *such* a time; would not the fire of his patriotic heroism appear to you equal at least to that of any of the more antient warriors described by the epic or dramatic poets of *Rome* and *Greece*?

I OUGHT to be duly sensible, replied *Crito's* pupil, that my mind is not strong enough to form a proper idea of *Caractacus* on such an occasion. But if I was endeavouring to represent his captive daughter,

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daughter, or any of her virgin train, weeping on the shore of *Dover*, while the *Roman* fleet was bending their sails for the voyage, I certainly should take your hint of consulting some of the *Greek* tragedians. I probably should have recourse to the beautiful chorus in the *Hecuba* of *Euripides*.

Αυρα ποντίας αυρα,  
Ατε ποντοπορος κομιζεις  
Θοας ακοτες επ' οιδμα λιμνας,  
Ποι με ταν μελεαν πορευσεις;  
Πη δαλοσυνω πρω οικου  
Κτηθεισ' αφιζομαι.

BUT why should I pretend to talk on this subject? The story of *Caradacus* has already been treated *incomparably* better by Mr. *Mason*.

IN one particular, Mr. *Mason* has, in my opinion, very much *improved* the subject: I mean, by having painted the *Druid* character with many graces, borrowed from a better religion. Such in particular is the meek doctrine of resignation, which, if I remember right, *his Druid* inculcates to *Caradacus*, both on his defeat, and his captivity.

I HEARTI-

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I HEARTILY wish, that the poet could have thought proper to add another act to his drama, descriptive of *Caractacus*, when arrived at *Rome*. With what pleasure should we be now perusing the scenes and chorusses of *that* act?

MANY have been the princes of various nations, said the young nobleman, whose captivity here at *Rome* we have been led to pity during the course of your humane tutor's lectures; but surely there is none that affects us so nearly, as this of our own noble king, *Caractacus*.

LET us visit the place (though it will be but a melancholy object) where our king appeared in fetters. I mean the *Castro Prætorio*. If we turn up the first road on our right, we shall be there in less than half an hour.



*Ad portam Viminalem sunt mœnia ultrà reliquos muros quadrata, quam formam vallo fossâque munitam Romani usurpabant in castris — injuria temporum, & hominum incuria multa mutavit. Et verò ibi fuisse castra militum. Prætorianorum cum Onuphrius de iis agens & Lipsius tradunt: & communiter Antiquarii.*

THE

THE above lines are taken from *Donati*. *Eschigardi* confirms the same: *Un avanzo di sontuoso edificio scorgesi presso la porta chiusa: non è difficile dalla figura accennar che fosse, e ravvisarvi li lineamenti del Castro Prætorio. Certi tubi quivi trovati dell' aquedotto dell' aqua Martia, nella di cui inscrizione è nominato il Castro Prætorio, sono testimoni di tal fabrica.* Abate *Venuti* adds: *Il Signor Piranesi ne dà l'intera pianta \* avanzi il suo disfacimento, laquale egli dice averla rilevata da' suoi avanzi, & dal prospetto, che si vede nel basso rilievo dell' Arco di Constantino, dalle medaglie, & dagli antichi Scrittori.*

IN this place, which is now a vineyard belonging to the Novitiate of the Jesuits, the young *Englishmen* sat down on the grafs. The eldest took out a pocket edition of *Tacitus*, and read to his friends the description of *Caractacus's* approach to the tribunal of the *Roman* empire.

I CANNOT help imagining, said the young nobleman, that I now see really all the splendor of that *grand* ceremony; for *grand* it must be called, though every *British* heart then in *Rome* sighed ready to break on the occasion. Cannot you fancy, that you see the *Roman* court there seated in the utmost magnificence, the *Roman* people in an innumerable



numerable multitude *there* spreading a wide surface of faces ; the prætorian regiments on both sides drawn out in square battalions, doubtless with the sound of military instruments, and all possible *pride and pomp of war*? The procession begins.—Be so kind as to read those lines of *Tacitus* again.

*Cæsar dum suum decus extollit, addidit gloriam viſto. Vocatus quippe ut ad inſigne ſpectaculum populus. Stetere in armis prætoriæ cohortes, campo qui caſtra præjacet. Tunc incedentibus regiis clientis, phaleræ, torquesque, quæque externis bellis quaſierat, traducta ; mox fratres & conjux & filia : poſtremo ipſe Caraëtacus oſtentatus.*

It was probably (continued the eldest of the young gentlemen) not without some flattery to the court and ministry, that the *Roman* senate compared the captivity of *Caraëtacus* to that of the ſucceſſor of *Alexander* the Great. Indeed the form of this part of the procession ſeems copied from the triumph of *Paulus Æmilius* : but how different was the ſpirit of our *Britiſh* prince from the timidity of that degenerate king of *Macedonia*? *At non Caraëtacus aut vultu demifſo, aut verbis miſericordiam requirens, ubi tribunali aſtitit, in hunc modum locutus eſt.* I think I never read in any of the antient hiſtorians any ſpeech which ſeemed more

genuine,

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genuine, and less the invention of the writer than this.

I AM very much of your opinion, replied *Crito's* pupil. It is very concise and sensible; open, and generous; full of that true courage, which, tho' not despising self-preservation, will not say or do any thing mean for its sake.

YET I own myself much more pleased at the surprize which *Caractacus* expressed in viewing the greatness and splendor of the capital of the *Roman* empire, and his astonishment at the insatiable and mean voraciousness of its inhabitants, who, tho' possessed of the richest empire in the world, and gorged up to the throat with its luxuries, yet could stoop so miserably low, as to think it an addition to their happiness, that their troops were ravaging the poor provinces of *Wales*, and plundering its humble cottages\*.

AFFECTION for our country (for all *England* was then *Welch*) will lead us to concur with *Caractacus* in his astonishment at this avarice and ambition of *Rome*. But ought not philanthropy to

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\* *Caractacus, barbarorum princeps, captus & Romam ductus, veniam a Claudio impetrasset, & dimissus perlustrasset urbis magnitudinem & splendorem, Itane, inquit, vos quum hæc tanta ac*

*Zonaras.*

carry us at least one step further? Is not *Britain* at present possessed of an empire more extensive and perhaps almost as opulent as the *Roman*? And is it not highly probable, that in viewing the streets and squares of *London*, several *American* chiefs (whose countries border on our back settlements) may have vented their complaints in expressions somewhat similar to those of *Caratacus* or to those, which *Galgacus* uttered some years afterwards, at the feet of the *Grampian* mountains.

*Si locuples hostis est, avari: si pauper, ambitio. Quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus imperium; atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

FROM national affairs let us look down to the private scenes of rural life. What must we imagine to be the sentiments of the *English* labourer or poor farmer, in viewing from the door or little window of his hovel, the pompous seat and gardens of his avaricious and oppressive landlord. But this certainly is very seldom the case. For one instance of a cruel landlord, there are, I believe, both in *England* and *Italy*, hundreds who are kind and beneficent.

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CRITO's pupil, having now turned the conversation to his favourite topics, proceeded to pour forth the sentiments of his heart in the sweet eloquence of artless good nature.

FROM these humble topics, he rose again gradually, like the sky-lark, from his beloved nest on the ground: he rose to themes of an heavenly kind; themes far more sublime than those on which his young friends had been meditating, whether military heroisms, or patriotic fortitude.

A RELIGIOUS soul indeed, notwithstanding its lowliness, soars infinitely higher than the mind of the patriot or hero. We may be convinced of this by one reflection only. Let us consider the character of that man, who either in the senate or in the field, nobly fights the battles of his country, without having another object in view, than the mere *glory* of such a conduct: how sublime is his object *generally* esteemed, but how really despicable is it in comparison of the objects of a religious life? Yet let not this observation be understood as depreciating too much the merit of these *English* youths: they were both honest and worthy men; though by no means on a level with their admired friend, *Crito's* pupil.

IF the state of his mind, at the close of this Saturday evening's conversation, could have been

represented by any corporeal similitude, it would have much resembled a figure with which *Raphael's* pencil has adorned one of the altars in *Bologna*; the figure of *St. Cecilia*, treading on the trumpet, and other instruments both of military and common music, but lifting her hand to her organ, and her eyes to heaven.



ABOUT eleven o'clock on *Sunday* morning the young gentlemen called at *Crito's* apartment: they had not however the pleasure of finding him there. His servant informed them that his master had risen by day-break, had continued for several hours in his closet, and afterwards walked out towards *St. Peter's*; but that he expected him home in about half an hour.

THE young gentlemen went into *Crito's* apartment, and sat down at his table, where they saw some books, which he had been studying the preceding evening, viz. two or three volumes on religious subjects; *Seneca's* Consolation to *Helvia* open at the beginning of the ninth chapter; and a short treatise relative to that science, which most strongly disposes the mind to devotion, *Astronomy*.

AMONG



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AMONG these books lay a small roll of paper; which as *Crito's* pupil informed them, was intended for their perusal. They opened it, and cast their eyes over its first leaf, which was a kind of introduction to the whole. The contents of that leaf were as follows.

MY dear friends, when we began our present course of studies, we were greatly encouraged in it by the consideration, that perhaps there never existed, on the face of the whole earth, any heathen nation more celebrated from the practice of several moral virtues, than the *Roman*. But we are now advanced to those sad times, the reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*, when we find the *Roman* people totally changed, when their annals are become remarkable for scarce any thing but the blackness and atrocious enormity of their crimes. How can I desire you to continue your attention to their history?

WHILE we were compiling the catalogue of those worthies who crowded this city, during her early republican government, we frequently, at short intervals, turned our thoughts to the contemporary illustrious characters of *Greece*: in the same manner as an astronomer, though studying nightly the number and magnitude of those stars, which fill the part of the heavens over his head, yet sometimes turns his globe to consider the con-

stellations in the other hemisphere. But what can we do at present? Thick and foul clouds now hang over each country; (pardon me for this allegorical stile) the bright constellations of *Greece* seem all extinguished; and *Italy* lies covered with the midnight gloom and deep darkness of vice.

BUT look towards the south-east, and you will see in the utmost edge of the horizon some streaks as of the twilight of a rising morning. Fix your eyes on this phænomenon. It becomes more and more distinguishable.

IF an angel was now to be looking down on the *Roman* empire, he would see its south-eastern provinces, *Palæstine* and *Syria*, bright with excessive splendor.

BUT the illumination is extending itself over *Cyprus*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*: some of its rays already reach *Rome*. Yet what is very peculiar, this steady and pure light seems to shine only on some low and humble roofs: not on the lofty pinacles of any of the *Roman* palaces; over most of which the thick cloud is still hanging.

BUT in a little time every part of the city will be enlightened by this rising *sun of righteousness*, in a manner ten millions of times more glorious than

than by all the glittering of her old heathen virtues.

FROM *Rome* the light will proceed westward.— But let me not tire you, my dear fellow-students, with the continuation of this allegorical stile; (a stile, in which my thoughts at present flow, owing to my having been lately studying some books of this species of natural philosophy) let me rather in plain language beg you to turn your thoughts from the black crimes of *Caligula's* and *Claudius's* court, to the contemplation of the pure brightness of that Holy Church, which in *Palæstine* and *Syria* was then beginning to be known by the name of Christian.

A GENERAL view of the history of the Apostolic Church, during the three last years of *Tiberius's* life, and during the whole reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*, will by no means be an improper subject for your meditations to morrow, that is, *Sunday* morning.

AFTER the introductory leaf, followed a treatise composed by *Crito* some months ago, being a kind of meditation on the history of Christianity during its first twenty years; which twenty years conclude about the end of *Claudius's* reign. In this treatise there was a considerable degree of learning, very much humility, and still more de-

otion : a devotion (as appeared by the references marked in the margin) greatly inflamed by the study of *St. Chrysostom*. The whole treatise however was so short, that the young gentlemen read it through in little more than a quarter of an hour. They had laid it down again, and were beginning to talk of its contents, when *Crito* entered the room. He saluted them with more than ordinary earnestness and affection.

*CRITO's* pupil, in the name of his two friends, returned him thanks for the manuscript on the table. I believe, replied he, I ought much rather to ask your pardons for troubling you with those papers.

It would perhaps have been much better, if I had desired you this morning to consult in your several apartments that book, from whence almost every thing on this subject is extracted.

THIS excellent part of ecclesiastical history is in great measure contained in the first seventeen chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*. You must however add to those chapters part of the 18th; for *Gallio*, the brother of *Seneca*, whom you will find mentioned in the middle of the 18th chapter, was governor of *Achaia*, if I mistake not, about the end of *Claudius's* reign.

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IN the beginning of the same 18th chapter, the *Jews* are said to have been expelled from *Rome* by *Claudius*. Permit me to trouble you with some few words on that occasion.

*SUETONIUS* relates the same fact: adding a most improbable and most shocking reason for it. *Judeos impulsore CHRESTO assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit.* That the *Jews*, under the cruel and impious oppression of the *Roman* tyranny, were very inclinable to rise in tumults, seems credible indeed from their history in *Judæa* during those times. But how could Christianity, Apostolical Christianity, be a teacher of sedition? Could her doctrines, which inculcate the utmost patience and charity in private life, and which expressly command obedience to all legal authority, as to the will of *God*, and inforce that obedience by the most awful and tremendous sanctions; could these doctrines breathe the rebellious spirit of mutiny and insurrection?

THE truth *probably* was this. The *Jews*, from a motive of zeal, raised some tumults against the Christians (who were at that time mostly of the same nation) in the same manner as they persecuted them in *Achaia* and in other countries: *Claudius*, without inquiring into the difference, or making any distinction, expelled them both. A conduct suitable to the pride of the *Roman* court

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(which



(which held the whole Jewish nation in the utmost contempt) as well as to the particular temper of *Claudius*, on which the rumour of a tumult had the greatest effect. *Nulla adeò suspicio*, (says the same *Suetonius*) *nullus auctor tam levis extitit, a quo non mediocri scrupulo injecto ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur.*

BUT however this may be, you are surely too well acquainted with history to be surprized at seeing sometimes innocence attacked by the grossest calumnies. You have seen a *Rutilus* banished from this same city for crimes the most improbable, the most contrary to the whole tenor of his life. Similar was the injustice done to the Christians in this case; and particularly to St. *Peter*, if he (as some writers think) was one of those who were then expelled from *Rome*.

GIVE me leave to turn to his first epistle. This epistle is generally thought to have been written by St. *Peter* while at *Rome*; I know not in what time of his life.

BUT whensoever it was written, whether in the reign of *Claudius*, or in that of his successor, it contains doctrines far different from the spirit of sedition. Several passages in it, as well as in some epistles of St. *Paul*, strongly justify the apostolic Church from such calumnies. Permit me to read

to

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to you only the fourteen last verses of the second chapter.

Do not these verses totally confute the absurd accusation of Christianity mentioned by *Suetonius*?

IN a word, this false accusation of Christianity, together with the sentence of banishment pronounced in consequence of it by *Claudius*, may be considered by us as the preface and introduction to the history or black decalogue of those persecutions, and of those scarce less cruel calumnies, which the Christian Church patiently suffered under the *Roman* government during the three following centuries.

BUT the morning (continued *Crito*, looking on the clock) wears away. Let us turn our thoughts to another employment; an employment however, which is very much connected with the topic on which we have been reading and conversing.

THE young gentlemen staid about half an hour longer in *Crito's* apartment, and then returned to their several lodgings.



THE

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THE *Villa Medicis*, most fortunately for *English* travellers, is situate near that part of *Rome* in which they generally lodge.

THIS *Villa* has the particular honour of having once belonged to that great *Florentine* family, which revived the arts and sciences of antiquity. Its high walls on the garden-front are entirely covered with rich basso-relievos: its gardens are filled with many other valuable antiquities of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*: and are always free and open for the amusement of the publick.

THIS evening (Sunday, *June 21.*) *Crito* was sitting alone in the portico of the *Villa Medicis*, and viewing from thence the quiet and solemn aspect of the distant pine-groves, when he was joined by his pupil, and by his two other young friends.

AFTER some talk on the beauties of this *Villa*, *Crito's* pupil enquired what was to be the place and subject of to-morrow's lecture.

THE next character, replied *Crito*, which I intended to propose to your consideration, in following the order of history, was *Arria*, the wife of *Pætus*. The place, which on that occasion you would probably have thought most proper to have visited, would have been an apartment of the *Villa*

*Ludovisi*;

*Ludovisi*; I mean that apartment, in which the statues of *Arria* and of her husband are preserved, a groupe estimated by the author of the *Mercurio Errante* at upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling. After having visited that apartment, you would perhaps have taken an airing in your coach to the church of *Santa Maria in Scholâ Gracâ*: in the walls of which church, you know, several marble pillars are still to be seen, belonging to that temple of *Pudicitia Patritia*, which antiently stood on that spot.

EVEN this very portico, in which you are now sitting, would not be an improper scene for the conclusion of such a conversation. These six colossal statues of *Sabine* matrons would not fail of reviving in your minds some pleasing ideas relative to that *female* merit, with which the republic of *Rome* was adorned during its most incorrupt ages \*.

THE view from this portico might also suggest to your imaginations a most shocking contrast.

IF

\* See Abbé Richard's Description of the *Villa Medici*, vol. vi. p. 141.

— sous le portique six statues des Sabines. Les Dames Romaines les honoroient de quelque culte religieux à la fête appelé Matronalia le premier de Mars—parmi les différentes causes, qu'Ovide donne à cette fête, la première est de ce que les Sabines, enlevées par les Romains, qui les épousèrent, arrêterent par leurs larmes la guerre cruelle, qui étoit prête à s'élever entre leurs peres, leurs freres, & leurs époux.

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IF I am not mistaken in the topography of ancient *Rome* (which indeed may easily be the case) part of the ground which lies between this portico, and that opposite pine-grove, was towards the end of the republic covered by the famous gardens of *Lucullus*. During the reign of *Claudius* those gardens were in the possession of *Valerius Asiaticus*. But it was a fatal possession. It was coveted by the avaricious and bloody *Messalina*. For the sake of those gardens, she plotted a false accusation against *Valerius*; had him tried; and condemned: in a word, she murdered him, and then entered on his estate.

BUT mark the awful workings of Providence. Scarce had some few months past, when she was called to suffer for all her crimes. Flying from the imperial palace, in that day of terror, she wandered about the streets and environs of this city; sometimes on foot, deserted by all her train, (*id repente solitudinis erat*) sometimes riding, not in any of her usual *proud* carriages, but in a common scavenger's cart. She wandered about, yet found no soul to pity her, as the deformity of her abominations had prevailed over all sentiments of compassion.

BUT whither at last did she bend her trembling steps? Or rather to what place were they directed by

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Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 527

by an influence far superior to the designs of her own mind? To *those very gardens of Asiaticus*.

THITHER was she pursued by the ministers of justice: there was she found by the executioner lying on the cold earth, but herself far more chilled by dismay and horror\*: there was her guilty blood actually poured forth.

IF *Asiaticus* had been a good man, would not this history of his gardens have appeared to you very similar to that of *Naboth's* vineyard in the fields of *Jesrael*?

BUT let us take a short walk to *that part* of these *Medici* gardens, which seems to have bordered upon, or perhaps to have comprehended part of the ground once belonging to the gardens of *Asiaticus*.

THE

\* *Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, componere preces, nonnullâ spe, & aliquando irâ: tantâ inter extrema superbiam agebat. — Prorupit Narcissus (e palatio) denuntiatque centurionibus & tribuno qui aderant exsequi cædem: ita imperatorem jubere. Custos & exactor e libertis Evodius datus. Isque raptim in hortos progressus, reperit fusam humi, assidente matre Lepidâ quæ florenti filiæ haud concors, supremis ejus necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat. — Animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum inerat, lacrymæque & questus irriti ducebantur. Tunc impetu venientium pulsæ fores: adstitit tribunus per silentium, ac libertus increpans multis & servilibus probris. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspexit, ferrumque accepit, quod frustra jugulo ac pectori per trepidationem admoventis, ictu tribuni transfigitur.*

*Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. in fine,*

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THE company readily followed *Crito* to the separate inclosure on the southern side of the *Villa Medici*. They passed some time there on the mount in very serious conversation on the dreadful catastrophe of that vile woman. They afterwards returned into the more frequented parts of the garden; *Crito* in the mean time lamenting the extreme hardness with which vice frequently petrifies the human heart. Notwithstanding the shocking fate of *Messalina*, her crime was soon afterwards exactly copied by *Claudius's* second empress, *Agrippina*: I mean in relation to the gardens of *Statilius Taurus*: but *Agrippina's* crimes also will be followed by their punishment.

WHILE *Crito* was talking on this subject, the company were passing by the fine statue of the dying *Cleopatra*. How wretched, said *Crito* somewhat changing the discourse, must *Cleopatra*, (that *Egyptian Agrippina*) even in the midst of all her pride and luxury, have appeared even in her own eyes; especially when she compared herself to some of the *virtuous* matrons of *Rome*; two particularly, whose characters were well known in the court of *Alexandria*, *Cornelia*, the wife of *Pompey* the Great, and *Octavia*?

THE company now crossed over into the middle shady walk: and there, after some wandering talk  
on

Chap. V. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 529

on various other subjects, resumed their former topic in the following manner.

I MUST desire, said *Crito*, that you would excuse me for not having prepared, as was my intention, some essay on *Arria's* character for your perusal to-morrow morning.

GIVE me leave, my dear pupil, to beg the favour of you to relieve me in this particular: a copy of verses on that subject composed by your pen will give your two young friends here almost as much pleasure, as if you had been able to shew them the ode which your muse inscribed to the memory of *Octavia*.

I SAY *almost*, for though the temper of *Arria's* mind was in general very noble and exalted; though several of her actions were truly laudable, as *Rollin* observes \*; yet I am sure you will not join in the common admiration of her suicide, nor approve of her avowed contempt of life, if forced to survive her husband: a doctrine, which she inculcated into her daughter's mind by precepts, as well as by example. In these respects *Arria* seems to have borne much more resemblance to an *Indian* princess while ascending her husband's funeral pile, than to the meek spirited *Octavia*. *Octavia's* long indulged grief for the death of her son *Mar-*

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cellus,

\* See also *Pliny's* Epistles, book iii, ep. 16.

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M m

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*cellus*, at length broke indeed her heart, but never did it lift up her hand to self-destruction.

MUCH less ought we to presume to compare *Arria* with any of those female worthies, who are *most justly* celebrated in the history of Christianity; who loved their husbands and children with at least as much fidelity, as ever was practised on the banks of the *Tiber* or the *Ganges*; and yet with due resignation submitted that love to the dictates of true reason, and true religion.

BUT making suitable allowances for *Arria's* being misguided in those particulars, the rest of her character will certainly be a very pleasing poetic subject. So eminent an example of conjugal virtue will be a very agreeable, and a *very proper topic* for *all* your thoughts.

I KNOW not how it may sound from my lips, yet *I think it my duty on this occasion to say*, and to repeat it, that the goodness of the remainder of each of your lives will in great measure depend on the union, in which you will each of you probably soon after your return home be made happy, your union with three virtuous ladies. *Juvenes citò prudentes, citò pii, citò mariti, citò patres, citò omnis officii curiosi* \*. I thought yesterday of you all, while we were talking on the happy and early marriage  
of

\* *Seneca ad Martiam.*

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*Germanicus. Expectant vos etiam jampridem domi  
Tibicines & Hymenæum qui cantent.*

*Felices ter & amplius  
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis  
Divulsus querimoniis  
Supremâ citius solvet amor die.*

BUT let me repeat to you some other verses  
on this subject, (the composition of a modern  
Italian poet \*) which are more suitable to this  
day.

*O te beatum, qui Deum castè colis  
Ejusque servas semitas !  
Tuæ labore quod manûs paraverint  
Te nutriet fructu ubere ;  
Tibi bene est, eritque ; cunctis affluis,  
Et semper afflues bonis.  
Qualis tuis conjuncta vitis manibus  
Uvis abundat dulcibus,  
Sic prole multâ te beabit optima  
Uxor, ferens natas pares.  
Virentibusque seu novella frondibus  
Vigent olivæ germina,  
Venuſta mensam sic tuam circumdabit  
Florens corona liberûm.*

M m 2

En !

\* Signior Rossi of ~~Arrezzo~~ Arretium in Tuscany.

*En! ut bonis ditabitur quamplurimis*  
*Timere qui novit Deum!*  
*Hæc largiatur, pluraque Ille munera*  
*Tibi arce ex Sioniâ:*  
*Patriæque perfruare felicitis bonis*  
*Per cuncta vitæ tempora:*  
*Cernas tuorum liberorum filios,*  
*Lætamque pace patriam.*

THE company were now arrived at the further end of the middle walk of the garden; when *Crito*, leaning on the iron rails, paused a while; and then again addressed himself to his pupil, and his other young companions. May you all *in some few years* be surrounded with as numerous and beautiful a young family, (but much more long lived, and much more the favourites of heaven!) as this which here surrounds *Niobe* in this most noble of all statuary groups, probably the master-piece of the great *Scopas*!

BUT let us take another turn in this walk; and give me leave again to express my hopes, that you, my dear pupil, will favour me with a short composition on this subject. A copy of such a composition by you will give much more pleasure to your parents in *England*, even than that \* which went from hence last week.

THE

\* Vid. seventh chapter of the third book, pag. 199.

THE character of *Arria*, notwithstanding its defects, is capable of being so represented as to make a very agreeable figure. Some of its features much resemble those of *Panthea*, as painted by *Xenophon*.

WHILE you are indulging your poetic ideas in this ode; I shall be employing my thoughts on a subject more suitable to my years: a subject, which has filled my mind ever since sun-rise this morning, and on which I shall be very happy to converse with you all, my dear friends, to-morrow in that solemn pine-grove of the *Villa Burgese*, and on Tuesday in the spacious and august *Piazza* of *that* most splendid church.

WHILE *Crito* was pronouncing these words, he stretched forth his right hand, pointing to *St. Peter's*; the dome and front of which church appears very distinctly from the *Medici* gardens.

*CRITO* remained for some instants motionless in that attitude. His mind seemed to be labouring under some great thought. He was ready to give in utterance, when two or three *French* gentlemen, who had been reading the inscription over the chapel in the northern corner of the gar-

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den \*, came up to this *English* company, and consequently broke off all further private conversation between them.

\* If I remember right, this inscription is in honour of a person of fortune, who lived in this part of *Rome*, at the time it was sacked by the Duke of *Bourbon's* army. This person was supposed from his former very frugal manner of life to have amassed great wealth, was then put to the torture by the soldiers to force him to discover that wealth. It was discovered that he had indeed a great treasure, but that treasure was laid up by him not on earth, but in heaven, far out of the reach of spoilers, &c.



CHAP. VI.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SCENE. *The apartment of the eldest of the young gentlemen; himself reading a volume of Tacitus; a map of England lying before him on the table.*

[*Enter his two young friends.*]

E L D E S T.

HOW pleasant is it for travellers, who have been as long abroad as ourselves, to take up now and then such a map, and to feast their eyes with the sight of *their own country*?

I HAVE been looking over some parts of *North-Wales*; and recollecting many agreeable circumstances which occurred to us in our tour through that romantic region the summer before last.

SUCH has been my amusement since breakfast; though, when I rose this morning, I had another motive for taking this map out of my travelling

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chest. My reason for it was, that I might by this help be better enabled to understand *Tacitus's* account of *Suetonius Paulinus's* campaigns. If I am not mistaken, it was not till the *eighteenth* year of the *British* war, that the *Roman* legions penetrated into *Caernarvonshire*. *Paulinus* ardently desirous to complete his conquest of this part of *Britain*, invaded *Anglesea* also; and in that action swam his cavalry across *this* arm of the sea. He seems from *this circumstance* to have been a very bold commander: on the other hand, his conduct and perseverance are highly celebrated by *Tacitus*.

*TACITUS* hints at a comparison between *Paulinus's* campaigns in *Britain* and those of *Corbulo* in *Armenia*. Indeed though the hills of *North-Wales*, and even *Snowdon* itself, are not to be compared to the mountains of *Ararat*; and though in this part the world, in the contest between the *Romans* and the *Britons*, there was no *third* nation of such power and dignity as *Parthia* to interfere, and to ennoble the scene of their campaigns and negotiations, yet if we confine our thoughts merely to the native bravery of its inhabitants, surely *Britain* was as difficult a theatre of war, as *Armenia*, or perhaps any region of *Asia*. In saying this, I am far from thinking myself partial to my country.

BUT

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BUT how dreadful is the idea which now rises to our minds, if from *Wales* we turn our eyes to the eastern side of *Britain*; and contemplate the vast effusion of human blood, which *then* suddenly burst forth almost in every field of *Hertfordshire* and *Essex*, and discoloured all the beautiful verdure of the banks of the *Thames*?

CRITO'S PUPIL,

HORRID indeed, as you observe, very horrid were those massacres. They blot out the glory of our otherwise patriotic heroine, *Boadicea*: they cast a stain of dishonour on the history of our nation. It is true, that the *Roman* armies, which then oppressed *Britain*, were full of insolence, impiety, cruelty, and insatiable avarice; but the savage revenge of the *Britons* is not thereby justified.

SOME verses of *Glover's Boadicea* affected me greatly, when I first heard them: and I hope they will long remain fresh on my memory,

*Of all the paths, which lead to human bliss,  
The most secure and grateful to our steps  
With mercy and humanity is mark'd. —  
And how much brighter is the wreath of glory,  
When interwove with clemency and justice?*

YOUNG.

## YOUNG NOBLEMAN.

IT seems somewhat extraordinary, that the *Roman* historians, though they speak much of the destruction of *Camalodunum*, *Verulam*, and *London*, by the fury of *Boadicea*, yet they give us no description of the situation of that famous field of battle, where her prodigious army was soon afterwards totally defeated.

AN *English* writer, I know not of what repute among the antiquarians, thinks it probable, that this battle might be fought near *Keston* camp, on *Hayes* and *Bromley Common* \*. Indeed it should seem not unlikely, that *Paulinus*, on being obliged to abandon *London*, should retire to the southward of the *Thames*, towards *Kent*, in order that he might there more readily receive reinforcements from the Continent.

CRITO'S

\* It is not known, that any coins or marks of the *Romans* were ever found at *Keston* camp: but it is perhaps observable that the brook, which rises close adjoining to it, is called *Ravernsburn*, which word seems a corruption of *Romans bourne*. In the same manner as the same writer observes, that the *Ravenbank*, which crosses the low-lands of *Lincolnshire*, is in old writings, according to Dr. *Stukeley*, termed the *Romans bank*. The *Roman* camp also in *Hertfordshire* goes by the name of *Ravenborough Castle*. Another fortification I have seen somewhere of that name.

See *Salmon's Survey of England*, vol. i. p. 92. and 355.



CRITO'S PUPIL.

I WISH *Salmon's* conjecture could be *fully* proved. I owe so much love and gratitude to the environs of *Bromley*, that I ought heartily to wish for the success of every hypothesis, that may contribute in any degree to their honour.

ELDEST.

I OWN I have more curiosity to know the place where (according to an extract from *Dio* subjoined in the notes to this edition of *Tacitus*) *Boadicea* was interred by her faithful, though ruined subjects, ΔΕΙΝΩΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΠΕΥΘΗΣΑΝ, καὶ ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΩΣ ΕΘΑΨΑΝ. If we had any tolerably complete account of the *Britannia Romana*, we should probably find in it some description of the *place* and *form of her sepulchre*. Often perhaps have we seen the spot, often have our feet unknowingly trod on that turf, under which, in some future age, her bones will be discovered, intermingled with the brazen head of her spear, and some of the golden ornaments of her royalty.

BUT let us, however unwillingly, (continued the same young gentleman, rolling up the map) withdraw our thoughts totally from *England*. Let us think of *Rome*.

BREA-



\* \* \*

BREAKFAST was now brought in. The company sat down to it. The conversation afterwards turned on the subject of *Nero's* reign.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

*(Taking up the Dio from the table)*

IF I am not mistaken, the characteristics of this reign were, according to *Dio*, these three: *Ασελγεια, Ωμοτις, Ασχρημοσυνη*. Let us pass over the first black article as quickly and as silently as possible. In relation to the other two, I cannot help observing, that the pride of the *Roman* nation seems (if I judge properly from their writers) to have been at least as much hurt by the third article, as by the second: though certainly there is no comparison between them. The folly which *Nero* exhibited on the stage, might indeed justly render him very contemptible; but in how different a manner ought we to think of the horrors of his murders?

I WISH I could properly repeat to you what my tutor said lately to me on that dreadful subject.

SOME

## Chap. VI. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 541

SOME few days past I attended my tutor to the *Lateran Cathedral*. His conversation there with me was at first on several ecclesiastical very weighty topics: towards the close of that conversation we relaxed our minds with some lighter, that is, some classic talk.

HE gave me a short history of the *fabric* \* from the time of *Lateranus*, who was slain by Nero, to the reign of *Constantine*, and from thence to the present age.

WE afterwards walked from the church to the back door of the Baptistery, where *the remains of Lateranus's stately house* are more visible than in any other part.

I STOPPED to admire one of the great columns of porphyry †. My tutor took that opportunity to

\* The history of the *Lateran Cathedral* seems to be in general this. On the execution of *Lateranus*, his house and gardens were confiscated to the emperor; and seem to have continued part of the imperial estate down to the times of *Constantine*.

*Constantine* seems to have granted authority to the Christians of *Rome* to make use of a part of his *Lateran* palace for a place of their religious assemblies. This was thus the first Christian church ever opened by the authority of the supreme magistrate: partly for which reason perhaps it is entitled *omnium ecclesiarum in urbe & in orbe mater & caput*.

† Il Battisterio denominato di *Constantino* fabbrica de' tempi bassi, fatta con le spoglie della Casa dei *Laterani*—dietro al battisterio si vedono alcuni maggiori avanzi di questo Palazzo—Le Colonne

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to give me some instructions relative to the excessive magnificence in which the ancient *Roman* nobility passed their days; as well as to the instability and vanity of such magnificence.

IN the times of their prosperity and wealth, what (said he) were the serious thoughts of the generality of the *Roman* noblemen? The rebuilding, the enlarging of their villas and palaces; those proud structures which they had designed as the repositories of their enormous opulence in all its kinds, and as the scenes of their intended ease and luxury for many, many years to come.—*Αφρων, εν ταυτη τη νυκτι την ψυχην ου απαιτησιν απο ου. Α δε ητοιμασας, τιμι εσται;—*

THE same folly infected strongly even the reputed wise men of that generation. They saw the vanity of such designs daily exemplified; yet their proud hearts were not converted by the sight. *Tot divitum subita paupertas*, says a contemporary writer, *Seneca, in oculos incidit: & nobis nunquam in mentem venit, nostras quoque opes æquè in lubrico positas.* But the lot which they had frequently seen falling on others, fell at length in reality on themselves.

*Temporibus*

*Colonne di Porfido che sono al battisterio erano di questo Palazzo, come quelle che sono nel muro verso la Sagrestia, e che sostengono un pezzo di fregio, & di cornice antica.*

See *Abate Venuti*, vol. i. p. 134, 135.

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*Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis  
Longinum, & magnos Senecæ prædixit hortos  
Clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes  
Tota cohors.*

BUT let us sit down by the ruins of this pompous portico; and meditate awhile on this subject.

IN relation to *Lateranus* himself, we will not at present enter into any discussion of the lawfulness of that intended insurrection, which was designed to deliver the world from the tyranny of *Nero*; nor into any particular examination of this senator's character; though a very great idea of it is conveyed to us in some few concise expressions of *Tacitus*. *Lateranum consulem designatum nulla injuria, sed amor reipublicæ sociavit conjurationi.* How very similar was this motive to that which influenced *Marcus Brutus*?

BUT let me rather again desire your attention, my dear pupil, to the *suddenness* of that ruin which fell on *Lateranus* and his opulent family. According to *Suetonius*, *Nero* generally gave but *one hour's respite* to the persons whom he ordered to die: immediately after that hour was elapsed, they were forced to put themselves to death. But with *Lateranus* the respite was not so long. Perhaps it might be in this stately portico that *Late-*  
*ranus*



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ranus was seized. Let me read to you here a line or two from my extracts from *Tacitus*.

*Proximam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati Nero adjungit, adeò properè ut non complecti liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium permetteret. Raptus in locum servilibus pœnis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur.*

My tutor now paused for some moments. Recollecting his thoughts, he proceeded as follows.

Ruin equally unexpected, equally destructive, fell at various times on many other stately edifices inhabited by the *Roman* nobility.

THE history of the extirpation of most of the great senatorial families of *Rome* has often, my dear pupil, led me to a very serious train of thought. How many of the *Roman* nobles were slaughtered in the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Anthony* and *Octavius*? Even when the sword slept in *Augustus's* reign, we see them continue to perish by other causes. Many were impoverished by luxury and vice. Many (a very remarkable number) dropt into their graves, without leaving children to inherit their titles and estates. Vengeance still pursued the remainder of them. In the following reigns; under *Tiberius*, the *Roman* house of lords was thinned by the an  
of



## Chap. VI. ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. 545

*of mock-justice*: (they destroyed themselves by their own votes and decrees) under *Caligula* they bled by the sword of the soldiery: under *Claudius* and *Nero* they perished by both those destructive instruments of tyranny united.

THE dispensations of Providence are certainly most just. For let us now recollect what our countryman Mr. *Hooke* says of the wickedness of the *Roman* senate in the corrupt and degenerate times of the republic: their avarice, cruelty, perfidy, pride. Their houses were filled with the spoils of innocent nations: but their crimes shall be punished even to the third and fourth generation of their children. Four tyrants (a series of monsters which the world never till that time, nor since, has seen seated on the throne of government) shall be appointed to rule over them, and to dash them to pieces with continued strokes of a rod of iron.

*Nero* was the principal instrument appointed for humbling and confounding the pride of the *Roman* nobility at *Rome* itself, in the sight of all the nations of the earth \*, as well as for shed-

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ding

\* Εκεινο δεῖξαι καὶ αἰσχιστοῦ καὶ δεινοτάτου αἵμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ ἀνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἔχ' ὅπως τὰ ἱππικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βουλευτικὰ ἀξιώματ' εἰς τὴν ὀρχήσαν, καὶ εἰς τοῦ ἵπποδρομον, τότε θεάτρον, τὸ κυνηγετικὸν εἰσηλθόν, ὡς περ οἱ αὐτιμωτατοὶ εἰσηλθόν οἱ μὲν ἐθελονταί, οἱ δὲ πᾶν ἀκούτες.—

Και

ding their blood in almost every province of the empire.

WHILE my tutor was thus talking to me, my heart joined in his sentiments.

WELL might *Tacitus* (thought I to myself) say on this occasion. *Ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit.* For certainly in the cruelties of a *Nero* and *Poppæa*,

*Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacæne,  
Culpatufve Paris. Divûm inclementia Divûm  
Has evertit opes, sternitque a culmine trojam,*

But I was recalled from this train of my thought by my tutor, who observed, that, though *Nero* was

Και ειδον οι τοτε ανθρωποι τα γενη τα μεγαλα, της Φερικης, της Ορατικης, της Φαβικης, της Πορκικης, της Ουαλερικης, ταλλα παντα, ων τα τροπαια, ων οι ναοι εωρωντο, κατω τε εσηκοτας, η τοιαυτα δρωντας, ων ενια εδ' υπ' αλλων γινομενα εθεωρουν. Και εδακτυλοδεικτεν γε αυτες αλληλοις, η επελεγον Μακεδονες μεν, Ουτ' εστιν ο τς Παυλς εκγον', Ελληνες δεσ Ουτ' τς Μομμις Σικελιωται, ιδετε τον Κλαυδιον· Ηπειρωται ιδετε τον Αππιον· Ασιανοι τον Λυκιον· Ιβηρες τον Πεπλιον· Καρχηδονιοι Αφρικανον.

*Dia Cassius, lib. lxi.*

See *Montesquieu* *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, the 15th chapter, and that paragraph which begins with the words: *C'est ici qu'il faut se donner le spectacle des choses humaines, &c.*

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was a proper instrument of vengeance, yet he himself deserved the greatest of punishments.

My tutor then proceeded to speak of some of *Nero's* crimes, particularly his murders, in such a stile as to fill me with terror and horror. He *unfolded* them in such a manner as would almost

*—harrow up your souls, freeze your young blood,  
Make your combined and knotted locks to part,  
And each particular hair to stand an end  
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.*

SUCH were my tutor's reflections, when viewing the ruins of the palace of *Lateranus*. But let us at present quit the horrid topic. Or if the history of *Nero* is to be the principal subject of our thoughts this day, let us contrive to intermingle with it some other business or amusement, which may serve frequently to divert and ease our minds.

SUPPOSE we take a ride this morning. My tutor is walked out by way of the *Porta del Popolo* to the *Villa Borgese*. If you please we may make a little excursion, a small circuit in the *campagna*, and in our return call on him there.



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THIS proposal of *Crito's* pupil being readily assented to, the young gentlemen ordered their horses, and rode out from the *Porta Pia*.

THE eldest pointed to the *Castro Prætorio*, a little on the right hand of the high road. If I am not mistaken, said he, it was *from thence* that *Nero* had the bitter mortification, in the hour of his expulsion from his imperial palace, to hear *ex proximis castris clamorem militum & sibi adversa, & Galbæ prospera ominantium*. It was along this very road that the tyrant was then, in the last night of his life, flying full of *fear and shame*. But why do I mention these *little* circumstances? *Extreme* at that time surely must have been his confusion, and horror of conscience; while the heavens roared in thunder over his head, the lightnings flashed in his face, and the ground in an earthquake shook under his feet\*.

BUT

\* *Tremore terræ, & fulgure adverso pavescens.*

*Suetonius.*

See also what *Dio* says on the occasion.

— Φυγεῖν ἐπεχειρήσεν. Πρὸς χωρίου τι φωνή—  
νυχτὸς ἐπίσης ἤλασε· καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα πράττοντος, σεισμὸς  
ἐξαίσιος ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ δοκῆσιν παρασχεῖν, ὅτι ἢτε γῆ  
πᾶσα διαρρηγνύται, καὶ αἱ τῶν πεφονευμένων ψυχαὶ πᾶσαι  
ἀμὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀναδρνύσιν.

Θανεῖν μ' αὐγυεὶ συγλამος, μητὴρ, πατὴρ.

*Perfecto demum scelere magnitudo ejus intellecta est.*



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BUT I forget my dear friend: you proposed this ride chiefly as an amusement. Let us talk on some other topic.



IF you please, said *Crito's* pupil, we will follow the road which leads towards *Nomentum*.

THE company accordingly continued their ride for three or four miles: during which time the conversation varied to many different subjects.

THE pleasantness of the weather, and the beauty of the country (the vegetation of which was in this month at its height) revived at length some favourite ideas in the breast of *Crito's* pupil.

As he imagined himself to be now approaching the spot of *Seneca's* suburban villa \*, he began to

N n 3

speak

\* *Tacitus* says that *Seneca* had a villa about four miles distant from Rome. See *Annal. lib. xv. In suburbano rure, quartum apud lapidem*. It is submitted to the reader's consideration, whether or no *that* might not be the villa, which belonged to *Seneca* in *Nomentanâ regione*; of which he speaks in his 104th and 110th epistles; and which is also mentioned with particular honour by his contemporary *Columella*. See *Columella's* treatise *de re rusticâ*, lib. iii. c. 3. *Sed Nomentana regio nunc celeberrimâ famâ est illustris, & præcipuè quam possidet Seneca vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinæ, cujus in prædiis vinearum*



speak of the virtues which that philosopher there *really* practised, not only in his last hour, but during many preceding years.

CRITO's pupil now indulged himself in one of his most beloved topics, the happy business of a country life; a life, which agriculture, and gardening, temperance, moderate labour, and moderate study, all contribute to render delightful. Blessed lot! but rendered far more blessed, when accompanied by constant daily exercises of piety and charity.

Of all the professions in humble life, I know not, said he, any that I should prefer to the employment of a gardener, or small farmer, when in tolerably easy circumstances. His mind is kept in vigour; his body in health; his field or garden is full of innocent charms to delight all his senses; and of objects proper frequently to suggest to his soul some moral or *pious* thought.

I REMEMBER my father's observing, that in *this last* respect the sentiments of some Christian writers, who have treated on the subjects of gardening and husbandry, are certainly far superior to those of the most eminent heathens. But as to myself, I know scarce any thing of either. Of the

*nearum jugera singula culleos oſonos reddidiſſe plerumque compertum eſt.* But it is to be remembered, that *Seneca* had also a villa in *Albano*, and perhaps others.

the *Roman* writers *de re rusticâ*, *Columella* is, I think, reckoned the most elegant. I am as yet but very little acquainted with his works : but intend soon to peruse them. I have been reading this morning the introduction to his first book. The principal subject of that introduction is, you know, the contrast between the rural industry of the ancient *Romans*, and the trifling manners of their posterity in *Columella's* time : that is, in *Nero's* reign. *Luxuria delitiisque nostris virilis vita displicet.*

INDEED the life of men of fortune, said the young nobleman, is usually too full of trifling ; especially while they are resident in great cities. But it was probably much more so amidst the immense opulence and luxury of *Rome*, and the bad examples of *Nero's* court \*.

THE whole life of *Nero* was trifling, when at *Rome*, when at *Naples*, and when in other places. But in a particular degree, what a tour of folly was his journey to *Greece* ? His amusements there were theatrical diversions, his serious occupation was fiddling. With great exactness and care he

N n 4

laboured

\* *Jam vero propria & peculiaria hujus urbis vitia pæne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque studia. Quibus occupatus & obsessus animus quantum loci bonis artibus relinquit ?*

See the treatise on Oratory, usually published with *Tacitus's* works.

laboured for the prize of music, totally neglecting the proper employment of a sovereign\*, the welfare of his people.

BUT let me recollect, am not I, though a private person, in some measure guilty of the same kind of fault? Am not I now, while on my travels, squandering away on music, vertu, and other *inerti negotio*, those days of which I must give a strict account? Ought not I rather to apply my attention with all diligence to the much more important business of doing, or preparing myself to do, as much good as is really in the power of one in my station; some public, some private, or at least some domestic beneficence? *Ad hæc quærenda natus, æstimare debeo; quàm non multum acceperim temporis, etiam si illud totum his operibus vindicem.*—*Quod senectû vocatur, paucorum est circuitus annorum.*—*Sed nunc, dum calet sanguis, certè vigentiùs ad meliora eundum est. Ante senectutem curem, ut bene vivam: in senectute, ut bene moriar.*—These words of *Seneca* struck me strongly, while I was dipping in his works last night.—I hope however, that my turn to these amusements, of which I have  
been

\* Παντα ποιει, ινα του των κιθαρωδων αγωνα νικησας ηττηθῃ του των Καισαρων. — Τis νικη αποπρωτερα, εν η του κοτινου, η την δαφνην, η το ζελινον, η την ωιτυν λαβων, απωλεσε του ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΝ;

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been speaking, has not been remarkably excessive; though I am every day more and more strongly convinced, that I ought to correct myself in them.

WHILE the young nobleman was expressing these good sentiments, his two friends looked on him with great regard. His present turn of thought seemed to favour the patriotic ardour of his eldest friend; but in reality it was much nearer allied to the piety, humility, and charity of *Crito's* pupil.

IF I am not mistaken, replied *Crito's* pupil, *Nero* made the tour of almost all the *Grecian* cities; except the two principal, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. He shunned the *Athenian* territory, his conscience not suffering him to approach the temple of *Eleusis*: he shunned *Sparta* for a similar reason, I remember *Dio's* words: Διὰ τῆς Λυκεργῆς νεμεῖς, ὡς εὐαντίως τῇ προαίρεσει αὐτῆς οὐτάς.

IF *Nero* had persevered in his intended voyage to *Egypt*, he would probably in like manner have passed much time at *Alexandria*, *Canopus*, and other seats of idleness on the *Nile*: but never would he have visited the sacred habitations of those *therapeutic* philosophers, whom *Philo* describes as then spread over all *Egypt*; living retired



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tired from the world, having disposed of their fortunes to their relations ; practising much austerity, and giving up their time to pious studies and meditations.

SUCH a depravity and weakness of mind in some degree appears by no means in you, my worthy friend ; but in several young travellers of various nations, who (as my tutor observed to me) wander through many parts of *Europe*, particularly *Italy*, thinking of scarce any thing except diversions, and the most trifling kinds of music and vertu : but shunning or slighting those places, which are remarkable either for devotion, or austerity of manners \*. Their time is totally employed in the pursuit of pleasure, which flies them ; and consequently it becomes void in great measure of dignity, utility, and real happiness.



THE company now quitted the *Nomentan* road, and turned across the *campagna* to their left.

MUCH was it to be wished, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that *Nero* in his *Grecian*  
tour

\* *Discurrunt, & locorum mutationibus inquietantur ; ægri animi jactatione.* Senec. Ep. 2.



tour had been guided by folly only. But there, as in *Italy*, he was stained with vices far exceeding the most enormous wickedness of modern ages. Rapine went on his left hand, and murder on his right \*.

IF our travels should really extend to *Greece*, we shall certainly make it our chief business in several parts of that country to recollect the heroisms of its antient natives : but I hope we shall not be so totally taken up with their panegyrics, as to forget, while at *Cenchreæ*, the name of *Corbulo*.

IN that *Corinthian* port, by the command of *Nero*, *Corbulo* was murdered.

WHILE we are treading on that coast, and viewing on one side of the bay the hills of *Attica*, on the other the mountains of the *Peloponessus*, shall we not think *Corbulo* happy at least in this circumstance, that he died and was buried in that land, which gave birth to and contained the ashes of so many heroes ? Shall we not then endeavour, by recollecting the principal events in the *Grecian* history, to find some illustrious *Grecian* character similar to his ? I wish I was able, even now when  
in

\* Πασαν Ελλάδα λεηλατήσει.

*Dio Cassius.*

*Nunquam inter voluptates, à rapinâ & cæde cessabat.*

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in the suburbs of *Rome*, to expatiate, with proper dignity of sentiment and language, on the character of *Corbulo*.

AMONG many other particulars highly to his honour, ought we not to take notice, that it was to be attributed to *Corbulo* alone that the *Roman* army in *Syria* was so strengthened by newly-revived discipline as to strike terror over all the east?

IT was to *Corbulo* alone, that *Nero* owed the most splendid circumstance of his reign; I mean, the submission of the royal family of *Parthia*, strongly expressed by *Tiridates's* coming hither to receive the investiture of the kingdom of *Armenia*.

How great indeed did the majesty of this imperial city then appear? From the shores of the *Caspian* *Tiridates* came to pay his homage, and receive his crown. In that very year it is remarkable, that *Suetonius Paulinus*, the conqueror of the western shores of *Britain*, was invested with the consulship, and probably assisted at that pompous ceremony.

BUT what must have been the thoughts of *Paulinus*, while seeing the suppliant *Parthian* in the *Roman Forum*? Must he not have recollected the appearance

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appearance of *Caracellacus* in the *Castro Prætorio*? Must he not have compared their behaviour? How servilely impious was the speech of the descendant of *Arfaces*? How noble that of the *British* king?

I HAVE been reading this morning, said the young nobleman, *Dio's* relation of the surprizing magnificence, and incredible profusion of *Nero's* court on account of *Tiridates's* journey and entrance into *Rome*.

I HAVE been considering what an idea of *Roman* splendor must have been impressed on the mind of the *Parthian* prince. I have been recollecting the sentiments uttered by *Hormisdas*, when he attended hither the son of *Constantine* the Great; and have been doubting at which those times this city appeared in the most noble outward grandeur.

BUT your much more manly reflections ought to draw my attention totally from such vain thoughts.

INDEED under all the glitter of *Nero's* court, how much vileness was there practised, how much horrid wickedness? The blood of *Barea Soranus*,  
the

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the imitator of *Scævola* and *Rutilius*, was there shedding\*.

NOR was its pomp less *transitory*. For let us, after admiring the splendor of *Nero* in the *Forum*, *Theatre*, and *Circus*, recollect what happened to him *some few months ensuing, in the very place to which we are now drawing near.*



THE company were now arrived at *Serpentara*; where the house of *Phaon*, *Nero's* freedman, stood; and where *Nero* himself in a most mean and miserable manner breathed his last.

THEY enquired for the reed-ground, in which that vile parricide trembling absconded; and for the filthy puddle (too pure however for his hands) of which he drank. They wished to see the

\* ΤΗΣ Συμπλοκής αρετής τα πρώτα ἀνιχνύοντες, ἀπεθα-  
νόντων τότε, οἱ τοῖστοι ἦσαν.

*Dio Cassius.*

*Barream Soranum* — *eques Romanus poposceraat reum ex proconsu-  
latu Asiæ; in quâ offensiones principis auxit justitiâ atque industriâ.*  
— *Tempus damnatione delectum, quo Tiridates accipiendo Armeniæ  
regno adventabat.*

*Tacit. Annal. lib. xvi. c. 23.*

Chap

the  
piped

\* O  
Nomen  
vepres  
evafit.  
drupes  
decubu  
fructu

Es

της  
αὐτῶν  
πλευρῶν  
μων  
ρωπιο  
αὐτῶν  
παρ  
καθ'  
τα τ  
πειρ  
γὰρ  
της α  
κριν  
δαπ  
ὅη τ

Οὐδ  
μετ  
οποι  
αὐτῶν  
ἐκείν

the situation of that hovel, in which he expired\*.

CRITO'S

\* *Offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam & Nomentanam viam circa quartum milliarium,—inter fruticeta & vepres per arundineti semitam agre ad adversum villæ parietem evasit.—Aquam ex subjunctâ lacunâ potaturus manu hausit.—Quadrupes per angustias effossæ cavernæ receptus in proximam cellam decubuit super lectum modicellâ culcitrâ vetere pallio stratu in-  
fructum, &c. Vide Suetonium.*

Ες καλαμωδιαν τινα τοπον κατεκρυφθη· κ' ενταυθα μεχρι της ημερας υπεμεινεν ερριμμεν<sup>Θ</sup>, οπως ως ηκισ-α διορωτο· κ' παντα μεν του παρουτα, ως κ' εφ' εαυτου ηκουτα υπο-πλευων, πασαν δε φωνην ως κ' αναζητησαν αυτου υποτρε-μων· ειτε πα κυνιδιον υλαξεν, η κ' ορνιθιον εφθεγγετο, ρωπιου τε κ' κλαδ<sup>Θ</sup> υπ' αυρας εσεισθη, δεινως εταραττετο· κ' εθ' ησυχάζειν υπ' αυτων ηδυνατο, ετ' αυλαλειν τιμι των παρουτων, μη κ' ετερ<sup>Θ</sup> τις ακηση, ετολμα· αλλ' αυτ<sup>Θ</sup> καθ' εαυτου τη ψυχη κ' εθρηνει κ' ωλοφυρετο· ελογιζετο γαρ τα τε αλλα, κ' προσετι οτι πολυαθρωποτατη ποτε θερα-πεια γαυρωθεις, μετα τριων εξελευθερων εκυπιαζε. τοιςτου γαρ δραμα τοτε Δαιμονιον αυτω παρεσκευασεν, ινα μηκετι της αλλης μητροφους κ' αλητας, αλλ' ηδη κ' εαυτον υπο-κρινηται. Και τοτε μετεγινωσκειν εφ' οis ετετολμηκει· κα-θαπερ απρακτου τι αυτων ποιησαι δυναμεν<sup>Θ</sup>. Νερων μεν οη τοιαυτα ετραγωδει, κ' το επ<sup>Θ</sup> εκεινο συνεχως ενενοει,

Οικτρως θανειν μ' ανωγε συγλαμ<sup>Θ</sup>, πατηρ.

Οφε δ' αν ποτε, επειδη μηδεις αυτου αναζητων εωρατο, μετηλθεν εις το αντρον· κατ' αυτα κ' εφαγε πεινησας αρτον οποιον εδε πωποτε εβεβρωκει, κ' επιε διψησας υδωρ οποιον εδε πωποτε πεπωκεν. Εφ' ω δυσανασχετησας ειπε, τ' ατο εστιν εκεινο το ποτον το εμον το απεφθον.

Και ομεν εν τ' ατοις ην, &c.

Dio lib. lxxiii.



CRITO's pupil repeated some *English* verses, in some degree applicable to the subject \*. He then proceeded to much more important topics. He reflected properly on the folly which accompanied *Nero* even to his last hour : he considered also, in a very awful manner, the punishments in the other world ; those punishments, of which the pains and agonies of death are only the beginning. *Defecit Nero exstantibus ridentibusque oculis usque ad horrorem formidinemque visentium.*

DISCOURSING earnestly on this dreadful subject (a subject, which so totally absorbed their attention, as to render them then not susceptible of any other ideas) the young gentlemen returned from *Serpentara* to *Rome*.

NEAR the *Porta Flaminia* hangs a vast fragment of a ruined wall, commonly known by the name of *Muro Torto*. It is thought to have been part  
of

\* See those lines of Mr. *Pope*,

*In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,  
The floors with plaister, and the walls with dung, &c.*

These humiliating circumstances would not have had the least effects on the mind of a wise and good man, when dying : but they were really painful to a *Nero*.

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of that mausolæum of the *Domitii*, in which *Nero* was buried \*.

FROM *Muro Torto* they turned into the adjoining entrance of *Villa Burgese*, and alighted.



WALKING towards the gardens, they found *Crito* sitting at the roots of a tall pine, the *Annals of Tacitus* and the *Memorabilia of Xenophon* lay by him on the grass: his heart seemed overflowing with the calmest happiness, and his countenance as serene and bright as the morning itself. No wonder, for his mind was then filled with the idea of the dying *Socrates*; with which idea he was comparing the behaviour of *Seneca* when in the same circumstances.

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\* Such is the horror still remaining at *Rome* of *Nero's* memory, that to this day the neighbourhood of his grave is the place appointed for the interment of all the public malefactors, who die impenitent. Still greater was the terror of this place some ages past; when wailing ghosts were imagined frequently to be seen sitting near it, and the cries and shrieks of hell to be heard from it: (an opinion which gave occasion to the building of that antient church, which is now standing near it) in these wild opinions there was without doubt a very great mixture of the ignorance and superstition of the times: but a true philosopher may notwithstanding discover in their origin some genuine suggestions of reason and conscience, and the real strong voice of nature.

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HE listened with pleasure to his pupil's conjecture, in relation to the situation of that suburban villa on the *Nomentan* road, in which *Seneca* died.

BUT his countenance changed on the other gentlemen's informing him what had been the subject of their conversation at *Serpentara* and *Muro Torto*.

HE rose from the ground; and while accompanying his young friends through the grove to the villa, he joined his reflections to theirs, falling into the same track of thought.

FROM what has been the subject of your thoughts this morning at *Serpentara*, said *Crito*, you may in some degree conceive how terrible the pain of self-condemnation must be, when a guilty wretch finds himself *really* approaching to his last hour.

A BAD conscience is a very tormenting companion even in the times of the greatest health and prosperity \*: but its pangs, its confusion, its horrors must be infinitely more terrifying at the near prospect

\* Both *Tiberius* and *Nero* experienced this truth.—*Tiberius omnium mortalium tristissimus.*—*Nero nunquam sceleris conscientiam ferre potuit : sæpe confessus exagitari se maternâ specie, &c.* Sueton. c. 34.

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prospect of the gates of hell, the powers of darkness, and the bitter pains of eternal death.

MAY we all, deeply and frequently, meditate on this ! But I hope and pray, that none of this company will ever, ever feel it. O my dear friends, bless GOD that you have *to appearance*, much time of life before you ; that you have strength to employ yourselves in many such works of true faith and love as will not fail to bring you peace at the last.

WOULD to GOD that it was now in my power to shew, or worthily describe to you, the exalted happiness of a *truly Christian* death-bed.

WITH a very inferior degree of earnestness I wish I could present to your thoughts a worthy idea even of *Socrates*, during the last days of his life.

WHAT I have now to shew you, is indeed *far inferior to either of these* ; yet it is such, as very well deserves your attention.

SAYING this, *Crito* entered into the villa, and turned on his right hand into the first apartment, which is adorned with the famous statue of *Seneca*. That statue represents *Seneca*, sinking indeed under

the languor of death, but with eyes so elevated, and with such a gesture of countenance, lips, and hands, as plainly to point out in what manner he passed his last moments \*.

*Novissimo quoque momento (said Crito) suppeditante eloquentiâ advocatis scriptoribus pleraque tradidit.* How much is it to be regretted, that *Tacitus* did not insert in his *Annals* that discourse!

THE reasonings of such a man, at such a time (that is of one of the wisest in the philosophical world, when at his highest state of wisdom, and at his

\* A print of this statue (taken from a drawing which *Rubens* brought with him from *Rome* to *Antwerp*) may be seen in the introduction to *Lipsius's* edition of *Seneca's* works: together with the following description of it: *Imago Senecæ ex Lucullo marmore fabrefacta inter Cardinalis Borgeſii admiranda Antiquitatis monumenta cernitur. Vera eſt effigies in Balneo animam jam exhalantis, & in verbis monitiſque aureis deficientis: vividum, acre, igneum aliquid refert. Manus digitosque ita exporreſtos vides, ut ſapientiæ et conſtantiæ præcepta advocatis ſcriptoribus dicentem, haud obſcure cum Tacito agnoſcas: a quibus nec vicinæ mortis cruciatus, ſatis peritè in ipſo vultu ab artifice adumbrati, ſapientem prohibebant. Facies parum formoſa, nescio quid Africanum præ ſe ferat: buccâ hianti, turgentibus labris, naribus diſtensis: ut hominem Cordubæ (in Bæticæ provinciæ coloniâ quæ Africa proximè adjacet) & parentibus Cordubensibus natum minimè requiras.*

*Sed & corpus longâ valetudine, multo ſtudio, & ex Taciti ſententiâ parvo victu attenuatum paullo attentius conſidera: quod cum exercitiis durioribus, cultu agri, & ſoſſione vinearum, firmiſſe ipſum conſiet; cutis exhauſto ſucco laxatæ maciem, & laboribus induratæ firmitatem, venis muſculiſque quos labor maximè attollit extantibus, ingeniôſè & diligenter ſtatuarius effinxit.*



his fullest experience) all that he *then* said, in *that* hour of *sincerity*, on the excellence of virtue, on the *real* emptiness of riches, and on the *real* vanity of all human grandeur, would surely form some of the most proper, and the most striking lessons of instruction for the minds not only of the youthful, but of the aged also.

A DEEP silence ensued. The eyes of all the company continued fixed on those of the statue.

THEY took some chairs, and sat down *opposite* to it.

WHILE they were sitting there, and entering as it were into the very thoughts of *Seneca*, *Crito* communicated to them a sheet or two of paper, which contained several extracts selected by him, from the most sensible and candid authors, (both antient and modern) relative to the *style* and *doctrine* of *Seneca's* writings; as well as to the *history of his life and death*. These extracts were digested into such a proper order, as to form a regular kind of *treatise* on the subject.

THE part of this treatise, which related to the *style* of *Seneca*, was very short: that on his *doctrines* seemed compiled with much more attention. It comprehended many proofs of the *remarkable resemblance,*

*semblance*, which *Seneca's* philosophy bears in *several* of its features to the Christian morality; and of its *extreme dissimilitude* to it in *others* \*.

- IN the second part of *Crito's* paper, *Seneca's* *actions* and *character* seemed fairly stated. The whole concluded with the candid observation, that *Seneca's* failings appear to have much abated; and some of his virtues to have very much increased, as he drew near to his latter end.



AFTER half an hour passed in reading this paper, and conversing on it, the company rose from their seats; and, with some respect taking their leave of *Seneca's* statue, begun to give their attention to the other works of sculpture with which that apartment is adorned. From thence they proceeded to the other apartments. More than two hours were employed in surveying the great number of statues, busts, and bas-relieves, with which this country-palace is filled in all its saloons and chambers; and even covered on its outside on each of its *four* fronts †.

THE

\* See *Marfollier's* Life of St. *Francis de Sales*, vol. ii. p. 42.

† The structure itself is quadrangular: the four sides of which are decorated with beautiful antique statues and bas-relievos;

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THE young gentlemen being very desirous to pass the remainder of the day amidst such a profusion of *vertù*, obtained the *majorduomo*'s consent to it. They dined on some cold provisions (which one of their servants had brought from *Rome*) in a charming grotto, on a table of white marble of one piece, inlaid with brocatello, twenty palms in length, and eight in breadth\*.

AFTER dinner *Crito*'s pupil turned the conversation to the history of the person who built this sumptuous villa.

IF I am not misinformed, said he, it was Cardinal *Scipio*: who in his youth lived in a state of poverty and obscurity, deserted by his own family; but was charitably received under the protection and patronage of the *Borghese*. Rising afterwards to a very great fortune, he took the name of his benefactor; and from a principle of gratitude erected this splendid fabric, leaving it to the descendants of that family, to which he was indebted for his own exaltation.

O O 4

I AM

relievos; curiously and appositely ranged. But as the prodigious variety renders it impossible to give a particular account of each piece, I shall only mention the most remarkable, which are the bust of *Geta*, *Trajan*, &c. The whole circumference of the building is 734 palms: each being nine inches, or a quarter of a royal *Paris* foot.

*Keysser's Travels.*

\* See *Keysser's Travels*.

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I AM not acquainted with the other parts of the history of this Cardinal: but this part of it, if true, is very amiable.

IT might however be wished for the Cardinal's further honour, that this villa had been somewhat less pompous and rich. If this country-seat had been adorned not with such royal magnificence, but with proper ecclesiastical simplicity, humility, and neat rural beauty; the Cardinal's behaviour would certainly have been much more truly laudable. In such a case we might perhaps have compared his gratitude to that of *Aristonous* \*.

BUT the afternoon is wearing away. Shall we take a walk round the garden? The beauty of its plantations is surely at least as pleasing an object, as the sculptured marbles in any of those grand apartments.

THE company, after drinking each a glass of fresh *Aqua Virgine*, now left the grotto, and made the circuit of the gardens, passing through a great variety of flower-beds, fountains, and shades †. They

\* See the history of *Aristonous*, generally published with the Adventures of *Telemachus*.

† *Son circuit est de trois milles, ou d'une lieue de France.—On peut dire que cet endroit est délicieux par la beauté de ses plantations.*  
de

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They sat down at the end of their long walk on a green bank thickly covered with laurel.

IT now began to draw near evening, when the conversation turned at length to its *classic* topic.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen with a short apology desired *Crito* and his young friends to bestow some of their thoughts on the character of *Thraseas*.

T H R A S E A S,

ELDEST.

HE was perhaps one of the most humane and best of men, though he lived in an age of the greatest wickedness, and cruelty. Under the reign of a *Nero*, *Thraseas* equalled, if not surpassed, the virtues of a *Cato*.

THE condition of the times indeed would not suffer so wise a man to attempt imitating *Cato* in  
his

*de ses bois, & de ses eaux : il est peuplé de chevreuils, des daims, de lievres, & de faisans que l'on y voit en troupes : & par tout l'utile y est mêlé avec l'agréable, avec autant d'ordre, que d'élégance.*

Voyages d'Abbé Richard, tome vi. p. 188.



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his strong struggles for liberty, and his unyielding resistance to tyranny and usurpation. For all the strength of *Roman* freedom was long ago perished. Its spirit also was (generally speaking) departed. Nothing but the form of the old constitution, its name, and its ceremonies, were now subsisting.

YOUNG NOBLEMAN,

SUCH being the state of public affairs, I should be glad to know what were the peculiar virtues of this *Roman* nobleman. For, if I am not mistaken, *Thraseas* was a person of the highest rank and fortune in his country.

ELDEST.

IT might be answered in the first place, the most exalted and venerable sanctity of private life; and in the second place the most undaunted and patient expectation of death. In each of these particulars he was even superior to *Cato*.

CRITO'S PUPIL.

I CANNOT help thinking, that *Thraseas's* behaviour at his death was at least equal to that of his great contemporary *Seneca*. In his life perhaps

*Thraseas* far excelled him. If I say wrong in this, I shall gladly receive your's and my tutor's correction.

CRITO,

I COULD wish, that we had more particulars of *Thraseas*'s life preserved to us in history. But as to *Seneca*, it seems certain, (as was observed this morning) that some parts of his life by no means answer the goodness of the rest. Your friend compares *Thraseas* to *Cato*. Why may we not look upon *Seneca* as a faint image of Tully? *Seneca*'s eloquence was much admired at *Rome*. In saying this, I do not pretend to judge of the literary taste of his age: but whatever may be the merits or defects of his style, his *sentiments* surely are often very noble. Some of *Seneca*'s writings are perhaps the most valuable parts of the moral philosophy of heathen *Rome*.

YET *Seneca*, like his illustrious predecessor in oratory and philosophy, sunk very low, when in adversity; and when in prosperity, grew too fond of riches and honours,

It must, alas! be acknowledged, that in *Seneca*'s history there are stains, the memory of which has not and cannot be wiped away either by the  
many

many great and real virtues of his life, or by his magnanimity at his last hour. These stains he probably incurred by his extreme confidence in his own virtue, (which, as he presumptuously flattered himself, was superior to all temptations whether of prosperity or of adversity) and by his blind, and, I must add, impious pride, in attributing whatever was good in his own breast to himself alone.

I HAVE sometimes been inclined to wish, that the history of *Seneca's* failings had been buried in utter oblivion: but on more serious thoughts, I am convinced, that it is much better as it is. For as they may justly be considered to have been a kind of most humiliating judgments on him; so also it is certain, that we may deduce from them some very important instructions for ourselves.

BUT let me not repeat what I said this morning concerning *Seneca*. In relation to *Thraseas's* character, as far as we can perhaps judge from the *short* accounts which we have of his life, it appears much more uniformly noble. I do not at present recollect any marks in it of stoic pride; (though he was reckoned of that sect of philosophers) nor on the other hand any symptoms of, pride's usual consequence, degeneracy. But I forget, that I am interrupting you. Pray proceed.

I WISH

I WISH, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that I was in the least worthy to speak on such a character. But, unworthy as I am, permit me to add, that *Thraseas*, though he gained a very high reputation by the virtue which he practised in his *private* life; (a life which was happily extended to an advanced old age) yet he did not omit to the utmost of his abilities doing those *public* services to his country which the condition of the times would allow.

HE was indeed a senator: but that formerly high office was *then* become of little *real* dignity, and invested with but little power of doing good. Yet in this station, however contracted and shrunk in its powers and privileges, did *Thraseas* frequently display an example of great patriotic fortitude and of great civil wisdom duly tempered together.

HE formed the plan of several salutary laws: he proposed them to the house, and by the weight of his wisdom and goodness carried them through it. He checked in some degree the oppression and rapine of the governors and *intendants* of several *Roman* provinces. He gave some check also to the tyranny of *Nero* himself.

W H I L E

WHILE the majority, and almost the whole body of the *Roman* legislature, behaved as the most abject flatterers, as the most servile instruments of the wickedness of their tyrant, *Thraseas* alone supported the true dignity of a senatorial character\*.

WITH the most noble indignation he refused to join in their approbation of their sovereign's crimes. More than once he boldly left his seat, when such matters were under deliberation †; and went out of the senate-house, openly rejoicing, that though *death* might be the consequence of this bold integrity, yet it was not in the emperor's power to inflict on him by such a punishment any real hurt ‡.

WITH

\* *Offensione manifestâ Principis, suâ animi magnitudine, non recessit Thraseas a sententiâ.*

† Θρασεας ὅτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνεχῶς, ὡς ἔχοντες ἀρεσκόμενοι τοῖς ψευδομένοις, ἀπηνύτα.

*Dio. lib. lxii.*

‡ Τοῖσι μὲν ὁ Θρασεας ἐγένετο, καὶ ταῦτο αἰεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐλέγε. Ὁ μὲν Νέρων ἀποκτείναι με δύναται, βλάβη δὲ οὐ.

*Dio. lib. lxi.*

Somewhat similar was the answer of a celebrated *Englishman*, who on being told by a great Lord of the Court, "It is perilous striving with princes: *Indignatio principis mors est*", replied: Is that all, my Lord? Then, in good faith, the difference between your Grace and me is but this, that I shall die to-day, and you to-morrow.



WITH perseverance in the same sentiments he actually met his death. *Post trucidatos enim tot insignes viros* (I remember exactly *Tacitus's* words) *Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit interfecto Thraseas.*

It has been frequently exemplified by the histories of many patriots, that integrity naturally produces courage. Ethical writers have also (I apprehend) observed, that where the faculties of the soul are filled with various kinds of moral excellence, fortitude will generally be found deeply rooted in the centre of the heart. Such certainly was the case of *Thraseas*.

BUT let me pause now for some few moments; and desire you to consider the state of this great man's family, to contemplate the virtuous persons who composed it, and who probably owed the greatness of their virtues to their mutual imitation of each other's excellencies.

SURELY, my dear noble friend, there never was a better subject for a family picture. How happy would you be next month, while at *Naples*, if among the antique paintings which are now discovering at *Herculaneum*, a good piece should be found, representing *Thraseas* in conversation with his family and friends on the day of his death.

SUCH

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SUCH a subject (if the persons had lived in more modern times) would not have been unworthy of the pencil even of an *Holbein*.

CANNOT you imagine, that such a composition is now before your eyes? The principal figure in it *Thraseas* himself, *venerabili specie*, the most virtuous character of his age and country. On one hand, his son-in-law, *Helvidius Priscus*; on the other, his grand-son, *Pliny the Younger*; and his friend, the famous *Rusticus Arulenus*. In the back ground, the tomb of his mother, the celebrated *Arria*.

BUT you can design and arrange such a *painting* much better than myself. Let me not any longer expose my ignorance by pretending to talk on that fine art. Let me think only on the *tableau de l'histoire*.

*THRASEAS*'s wife and son-in-law, with *Arulenus* and many of his friends, attended him in his last hour. For while the senate was sitting in anxious deliberation, though surrounded with *Nero*'s guards, on passing *Thraseas*'s sentence of death, (a sentence, which indeed they did not go through *sine summâ maestitiâ ac pavore*) that worthy man was conversing with his friends in his garden; probably with great calmness and tranquillity of mind,

mind, though he knew that he should never again behold the vegetative beauties of nature, or the glow of that setting sun.

POSSIBLY the situation of *Thraseas's* garden might not be far distant from this of the *Villa Borgese*. At least there is no reason why we should not indulge ourselves in that fanciful imagination. With that idea permit me to read to you some passages which I have extracted from *Tacitus*.

*Tum ad Thraseam in hortis agentem quæstor consulis missus, vesperscente jam die.—Ibi illustrium virorum fæminarumque cætus agebat, maximè intentus Demetrio philosopho \*, cum quo inquirebat de naturâ animæ, & dissociatione spiritû corporisque.—Quando Arulenus offerebat se intercessurum senatûs consulto (nam plebis tribunus erat) cobibuit spiritus ejus Thraseas, ne inutilia & sibi exitiosa tentaret.—Conjugem tentantem exemplum Arriæ matris sequi, monet retinere vitam (how superior in this to Seneca?) filiæque communi subsidium unicum non adimere—Flentes amicos (nuntiatum enim jam erat de condemnatione) facessere propere hortatur, non pericula sua miscere cum sorte damnati.*

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P P

*Tum*

\* This *Demetrius* is probably the same person, whose praises we often find recited in *Seneca*. *Demetrius* (says that writer) *vir meo judicio magnus, etiam si maximis comparetur.*—But see the history of his degeneracy from this great character in *Tacitus's* account of the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign.

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*Tum progressus in porticum, he met the officers, guards, and executioners. He received his death-warrant, lætitiæ propior; quia Helvidium generum suum (who, he was apprehensive, would have been sentenced to death with him) Italiâ tantum cognoverat.*

*Helvidium debinc & Demetrium in cubiculum inducit, porrectisque utriusque brachii venis postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, propius vocato quæstore, Libemus inquit Jovi Liberatori; (the very expression of Seneca\*.)*

*Spesta, Juvenis: & omen quidem dii prohibeant, cæterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expedit constantibus exemplis.*

*Post lentitudine exitus graves cruciatus asserente, obversis in Demetrium*—What a pity it is that the manuscript of Tacitus's Annals should here break off so abruptly?

PROBABLY the dying words, which *Thraseus* addressed to his philosophic friend *Demetrius*, were not less worthy of attention than the last discourse of *Seneca*.

IN my younger days I have lamented the great chasms and ruins in the august fabrick of *Livy's* history.

\* Tacit. Annal lib. xv. c. 64.



history. But in the present disposition of my mind, if it was in my power to restore entire either the work of *Livy* or of *Tacitus*, I know not which I should prefer: though certainly a very considerable part of the times, described in *Tacitus's* writings, were very inferior in publick virtue to some of the epochas contained in the decads of *Livy*.

THE young gentlemen now took out of his pocket a small edition of *Tacitus*, and read to his friends some of that sensible writer's complaints on this head.

HE would probably have added some further reflections on this subject, if the cold dew of the evening had not reminded him that it was proper to think of returning to their lodgings.

THE company rose now from their grassy seat, and walked to that garden gate which opens near the *Porta Penciana* of *Rome*. In the way, *Crito* made several short, but pertinent observations on the excessive wickedness which prevailed in government during most part of the life of *Thraseas*.

THE young nobleman recollected the names of many contemporary virtuous *Romans* who ended their days in the same manner as this civic hero. He proceeded to some very sensible reflections on the extreme meanness of the *Roman* senate, which



could with such timidity consent to condemn to death men eminent not only for their innocence, but for their merit.

SUCH, said he, was once the case in *England* even in the trial of peers. Thankful ought we to be, that our lot has fallen in a better age: thankful ought we to be to Providence, that the times of extreme persecution and tyranny happen but seldom in the history of the world. But the mention which was made just now of the name of *Holbein*, necessarily recalls to my memory the history of the *Tudor* family, particularly the reign of *Henry VIII.* Horrid indeed was that despotic æra. For it was not only the house of peers which then suffered in that manner; the same tyranny prevailed over common juries in capital trials; the same tyranny prevailed in acts of attainder passed by the whole legislature. How then did the parliament of *England* appear? Alas! it sadly resembled the miserable senate, which crouched at the footstool of a *Tiberius* or a *Nero*.

It seems a very considerable consolation however, replied *Crito*, that as the annals of *Nero's* reign contain the history of a *Thraseas*, so also that æra of *English* tyranny was not destitute of many virtuous characters, particularly one (in some respects) very similar: A character similar, and even superior to the most illustrious characters of *Greece*

or

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or *Rome* in their noblest excellencies: in virtue, and in patriotism; in temperance, contempt of wealth, patience, and even love of poverty! integrity unmoved by any ambitious prospect, or temptation of honour or power; intrepidity and magnanimity unshaken by all menaces, by all dangers, and even by death itself.

IT is almost superfluous to add his name; a name justly revered by all *Englishmen*, however various in their sentiments either on political or religious subjects: which is the more extraordinary as he suffered on a religious account, and is said, how truly I cannot tell, to have been himself sometimes *cruel* in religious matters. In other respects his behaviour most amiable, most respectable, most pious. He was the *Aristides*, the *Phocion*, the *Fabricius*, the *Thraseas* of *England*; Sir *Thomas More*.

I HAVE at my lodgings a *small* collection of some of his works; particularly of his letters, meditations, and devotions, while in the *Tower*. Permit me to recommend it to you for your perusal to-night after supper.

THE summer before last, I remember, I employed part of an afternoon in a boat on the *Thames*, reading the life of Sir *Thomas More*. I took boat

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at *Chelsea*, and was slowly rowed down the river, passing between *Lambeth* and *Westminster Hall*: in *Sir Thomas's* life frequent mention is made of each of those three places. On landing at the *Tower* gate, I recollected *Sir Thomas's* last interview there with his daughter. I cast my eye along the side of those antient walls, looking for the grated window of his prison. In walking over *Tower-hill*, I stopt with reverence at the place of execution, from whence his innocent, virtuous, pious soul took her flight to heaven.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

**C**RITO about eight o'clock this morning, on entering the young nobleman's apartment, found his three young friends as usual, deeply engaged together at study. He drew a chair, and sat down among them by the table.

THE table was covered with several books of antiquities and history; scattered among which lay many coins of the upper empire; and two or three drawers full of a series of impressions in wax taken from antique seals bearing the royal and most of the *principal* republican heads of *Rome*.

WE have been imagining, said the young nobleman, that there is some kind of resemblance between the beginning and ending of the imperial *Cæsar* family, and that of the antient *kings* of *Rome*.

*JULIUS*, the founder of the grandeur of the *Cæſarean* family, ſeems in his great abilities of mind,

P p 4

mind, and in the manner and place of his death, as well as in other particulars \*, to bear a strong similitude to *Romulus*. *Augustus*, in the mildness and peaceableness of above forty years of his reign, was perhaps in some small degree a faint image of the good *Numa*. The history of the *Cæsar* family ends in a *Nero*, as that series of monarchs did in a *Tarquin*.

BUT *Nero* far surpassed *Tarquin* in wickedness; and far, I believe, would you have kindly endeavoured to turn our thoughts from the history of *his* vile life; if you had not thought, that the memory of those good men, who suffered under this emperor's cruel tyranny, justly claimed much respect from us during our prosecution of this part of our course of *Roman* studies.

THEY do indeed deserve much respect, replied *Crito*.

THE eldest of the young gentlemen now opened *Dio's* works, and turning to the sixtieth book, read two or three lines.

Τὸ τῆς συνέχειας τῶν κακῶν εἰς τὸ τοιαῦτα πρᾶγματα προεληλυθει, ὥς ἀρετὴν μὴ κεῖ' ἄλλο μὴδὲν, ἢ τὸ γενναίως ἀποθανεῖν, νομιζέσθαι.

A NOBLE

\* See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxiv.



A NOBLE philosophic fortitude in meeting death in cold blood seems indeed, said he, to have been the turn which the temper of the old *Roman* magnanimity took in the later reigns of the *Cæsarean* family.

The magnanimity of these suffering heroes, replied *Crito's* pupil, was perhaps at least equally laudable with the military courage of the antient warriors of this country. At least we may easily imagine such to have been the sentiment of a *Seneca*, or of a *Demetrius*,

Their fortitude, said *Crito*, was indeed very remarkable: and though their conduct was not totally void of defect, (for some considerable objections may be made to it) yet in general the history of their sufferings may prove to us a very useful branch of study.

THIS was your topic yesterday evening, as you were walking out of the gardens of the *Villa Borghese*. I have since been thinking much on the subject; indeed almost during the whole night: on rising this morning I committed my thoughts to paper.

SAYING

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SAYING this, *Crito* laid on the table a single sheet: the title of which was SUFFERING VIRTUE, and the contents of it as follows,

\* \* \*

*FANNIUS*, the friend of *Pliny*, wrote an account of the last hours of those many illustrious persons, who suffered under *Nero* \*. It is probably much to be lamented that this work is not now extant.

SUCH an history, if elegantly composed, would present to your view, my dear pupil, scenes of afflicted innocence described in a masterly stile; scenes much more real, and consequently much more moving, than any contained in the finest set of tragedies written on the same favourite subject of Suffering Virtue.

NOR would the effects of such an history be less, if we suppose it to have been compiled in a plain, but judicious and faithful manner. The facts contained in it would make us ashamed to complain or be dispirited at any of the little (real or imaginary) adversities which may happen to ourselves; and would in some measure serve to  
prepare

\* Vid. *Pliny's* Epistle to *Maximus*, book v. p. 56

prepare us for supporting the greatest trials, if ever we should be called to them.

PERMIT me, my dear pupil, to express my thoughts in some lines copied from *Seneca's* consolation to his mother *Helvia*, mingled with some expressions, which I remember used by *Tully*.

*Fleant & gemant, quorum delicatas mentes longa voluptatum contemplatio enervavit, (quâ cum diffusimus nec apud aculeum ferre possumus) & ad levissimarum injuriarum motus collabuntur. Nos autem (talium virorum exempla spectantes, & inter hæc studia nutritos) pudeat laborem & calamitatem ægrè ferre.*

*Feramus vulnera fortuna, velut veterani, sine ululatu, sine vociferatione. Libera sit nostra virtus; inviolabilis, inconcussa; adversus apparatus terribilium rector oculos teneat. Nihil ex vultu mutet.*

*TULLY* (if I understand his words aright) hints to us the best method of acquiring fortitude. *Nam enim tam sui fiduciâ nitendum est, quàm vota pro fortitudine facienda* \*.

BUT let not my pen wander too far from its proposed subject. It might perhaps be wished, not  
only

\* *Cicero Tusc. quæst. lib. v. in initio.*

only that *Fannius's* work had been preserved, but the same good fortune had protected those other sensible authors (for such probably there were) whose writings described the sufferings of *Roman* virtue during the *three preceding reigns*, under the malice of *Tiberius*, the madness of *Caligula*, and the frequent stupidity of *Claudius*.

IF those writings had been now extant, they would probably at this instant have been lying on your table, bound up in one large volume, together with the works of *Fannius*.

A dismal volume! for dismal indeed were the events of the civil history of this great and miserable metropolis, from the middle of *Tiberius's* reign, to the end of that of *Nero*; *an epocha of about forty years*.

I WISH I had been diligent enough in my late studies of the history of that epocha, to have extracted from the fragments of *Tacitus*, *Dio*, and of some other books, a catalogue of the illustrious sufferers. The length of that catalogue, and the splendor of the names contained in it, would have been very striking and instructive; even though I had not endeavoured to subjoin to it any particular account either of their several sufferings or characters.

INDEED

INDEED the historians of that dreadful epocha seem to have been fatigued with so long a series of cruelties. *Tacitus* observes \*, *a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula & pœnas, dum copiâ fatiscunt, aut, quæ ipsis nimia & mœsta fuerant ne pari tædio lecturos afficerent, verentur.* Yet for the sake of posterity it might have been wished, that *Tacitus* himself had been more particular in the characters of several of the sufferers; whose virtues were in his time generally known and celebrated in the world; but, by his omission of them, are now some partly lost, some totally buried in oblivion.

Yet let us not *at present* indulge ourselves idly in lamenting either the omissions of the *Roman* historians, or the wide ravages and destruction of time on their works. We have the less reason to lament them, as we find fully described in *other histories of the same epocha*, examples of a much higher merit; examples far more edifying to us, as to the practice of virtue in general; and in a peculiar manner of fortitude; or, to call it by its more proper name, patience.

O MY dear fellow-students, let us for the remainder of this day, lay aside all heathen history—let us lift up our hearts to much higher meditations.

As

\* *Annal.* lib. vi. c. 7.



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As the heathen annals of *Rome* in this age sufficiently inform us, that *prosperity* is not without many fears and distastes: so the history of the newly-rising Christian Religion shews us in a much stronger light that *virtuous adversity* is not without many comforts and hopes, and felicity of heart, infinitely heightened by the assured prospect of a happy immortality, and the assistance of  
DIVINE GRACE.

*In cruce robur mentis, summa virtutis, perfectio  
sanctitatis, gaudium etiam spiritus, & supernae suavitatis infusio* \*.

O MY dear friends, you are all so good and so wise, that I need not make any apology to you in this paper, for my freedom in often communicating to you those thoughts, with which my heart ought indeed *always* to be filled, and from that abundance ready to overflow at all proper opportunities.

BUT on this present occasion, permit me to speak more at large. Surely I ought not *now* to confine my pen to some short hint or faint allusion, pointing (like a bad compass) with much unsteadiness towards some religious object. We are in the studies of this day called to fix our  
thoughts

\* *Imitatio Christi*, lib. ii. c. 12.

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thoughts on such an object, as invariably and intensely as possible.

FOR let us remember, that *the period of forty years*, (of which we were just now speaking) was the epocha of Suffering Virtue; not only in regard of *Rome*, but in respect of the whole world also. It was so, in the greatest degree, *αὐτὸ ἐξ ἑοχῆν.*

DURING that period was imprisoned and beheaded the most just and holy man; of whose festival this afternoon is the eve; I mean *St. John the Baptist*. Of him the *Word of Truth* itself said, that among those born of women there had not arisen a greater or brighter character. *St. John* was great, not in worldly honours, not in the erroneous judgments and foolish opinions of men; but he was great indeed: *Μεγας ἦν ἐν παντί τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

HE was a prophet, and more than a prophet: the worthy harbinger of the world's Redeemer.

HIS spotless innocence, his unparalleled spirit of mortification, prayer, and retirement; his zeal and charity were wonderful: but the foundation of all his virtues, the crown of all his greatness, was his sincere humility. The name, which was  
given

given to him from heaven, justly signified, *full of grace.*

BUT of such a life, so holy and so pure, what were the comforts, what was the conclusion? Little reason has any pious man, either to complain of the sufferings, or to love what are called the good things of this world. With devout resignation let him consider the lot which was appointed to St. *John* the Baptist.

THE life of St. *John* consisted of about two and thirty years, which were *thus* passed.

FROM his infancy to his thirtieth year he lived *in the desert in great austerity.* From the desert he entered on the labours of his public ministry; which continued for about fifteen months. By the tyranny of *Herod* he was then committed to prison; where he was during twelve months *confined*, and at last *murdered.* Such was *his* lot.

*Beatus. vir, qui suffert tentationem; quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ, quam reprobis DEUS diligentibus se\*.*

THE history of St. *John* the Baptist may be considered as the greatest example of Suffering Virtue,  
which

\* Epist. St. *Jacobi*, cap. i. ver. 12.

which the world had ever seen since its creation. But it is as nothing in comparifon of that which I am now going to mention. O how ought my wretched hand to tremble in writing thefe lines?

DURING this fame period of forty years, our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST himfelf——  
But let *me* not dare to proceed on that awful fubject. May you (who are much better men) referve it for your more private and more folemn thoughts.

PROSTRATE in the devotions of your clofets, May you duly reflect, that *forasmuch as* CHRIST hath fuffered for us, we ought alfo to arm ourfelves with the fame mind. Let us not think it ftrange, if we alfo are called to the fame trial. The fervant is not greater than his Lord. Let us pray for grace, that we may with a ready mind take up our crofs daily, and follow HIM.



ON concluding this paper the company fepa-  
rated: each perfon retired to his lodgings, full of meditation.

AT ten o'clock they met again on the terras, where they found the young nobleman's coach waiting for them. They went into it; and by *Crito's* desire told the coachman to drive to *St. Paul's*.

THEY passed along the *Corso*: where they stopped for some time to visit the church of *Santa Maria in viâ latâ*, and its subterranean apartments.

THEY afterwards proceeded through the rest of the city and suburbs: They passed within sight of *Monte Testaccio*, and went out of the *Ostian* gate.

TRAVELLING another mile they arrived at that venerable *Basilica*, which *Constantine* erected to the memory of *St. Paul*; and which in the following century *Theodosius* and *Honorius* considerably enlarged \*.

ITS

\* At the upper end of this basilica are to be seen the two following verses in antient characters: *Theodosius cœpit, perfecit Honorius aulam Doctoris mundi sacratam corpore Pauli.*

*Questa chiesa fu fondata da Constantino—la fabbrica in questo luogo in un podere di S. Lucina Madrona Romana; in cui vi era anche il suo Cimiterio di S. S. Martiri, e vi fu sepolto per la prima volta l'Apostolo S. Paolo da Timoteo suo discepolo: il detto cimiterio e sotto questa Chiesa, & vi si cala dalla appresso l'altar maggiore.*

Mer. Errante.

See also *Dr. Cave's Life of St. Paul*, at the conclusion of the seventh section.



ITS dimensions are very great. Its breadth within the walls exceeds the breadth of the piazza *Navona*; that piazza, which was the antient *Circus Agonalis*, and which is at present the principal square (if such an improper term may be used) of modern *Rome*.

THE most remarkable ornament of this spacious church are several vast pillars of *Egyptian* granite: and four rows of columns; the inner rows of which are peculiarly stately and beautiful, being of the richest *Grecian* marbles.

ITS antient *Mosaics* are also curious; but its roof and pavement are very disproportionally mean \*.

THIS church (being situate at about two miles distance from the parts of *Rome*, which are now inhabited)

Q q 2

\* The pavement is composed of innumerable fragments of antient tomb-stones put together without order. The roof is plain timber. In *Theodosius's* time the roof was all gilded, as it is described by a contemporary writer; *Prudentius in passione Apostolorum Petri & Pauli*.

Parte aliâ titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis,  
 Quâ stringit amnis cespitem sinistrum.  
 Regia pompa loci est: Princeps bonus has sacravit arces,  
 Lustique magnis ambitum talentis,  
 Braeolae trabibus sublevis ut omnis aurulenta  
 Lux esset intus, ceu jubar sub ortu.  
 Subdidit & Parias fulvis laquearibus columnas  
 Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.  
 Tum camuros hyalo insigni variè cucurrit arcus,  
 Sic prata vernis floribus venident.

Corpus Poetarum Latinorum, p 1620.

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habited) is but little frequented. Solitude and silence generally reign in all its chapels and long isles.

THE company passed here an hour with great satisfaction. The remarkable coolness of the place breathed a very agreeable refreshment over their bodies; while their minds were soothed into tranquillity and quiet meditation by the cooings of the many doves, which were sometimes perched, sometimes flying among the timbers of the roof.

SUCH were the happy dispositions of these three worthy young men, when their tutor led them to that place, in the middle of the church, where part of the mortal remains of St. Paul is said to be still reposing. Crito here presented them a paper, containing some extracts from the conclusion of St. Chrysostom's last homily on St. Paul's epistle to the Romans\*.

As

\* Εγώ καὶ τὴν Ρωμην δια τὸτο φιλω καίτοι γε αὐτὴν  
εἰς τὸν εὐχὴν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ ἀπο τῆς μεγέθους, καὶ ἀπο τῆς  
ἀρχαιοτήτος, καὶ ἀπο τῆς καλλείας, καὶ ἀπο τῆς πλεονείας, καὶ  
ἀπο τῆς δύναμειας, καὶ ἀπο τῆς πλεονείας, καὶ ἀπο τῶν κατορ-  
θωμάτων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἀφείδω,  
δια τὸτο αὐτὴν μακαρίζω, ὅτι (Παυλὸς) καὶ ζῶν αὐτοῖς  
ἐγγράφει, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐφίλει, καὶ παρὼν αὐτοῖς διέλεχθη,  
καὶ τοῦ βίου ἐκεῖ κατέλυσε· διὸ καὶ ἐπιστήμῳ ἡ πόλις ἐντεῦθεν  
μαλλόν, ἢ ἀπο τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶν—δια ταῦτα θαυμάζω  
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δια χρυσοῦ τοῦ πολυοῦ, καὶ δια τῆς κίονος, καὶ δια  
τὴν ἄλλην φαντασίαν.—Τίς μοι νῦν ἐδωκε περιχυθῆναι τῷ  
σώματι Παυλὸς, καὶ προσηλωθῆναι τῷ ταφῷ, καὶ τὴν κοινὴν  
ἰδεῖν τῆς σωμάτων ἐκείνης;—τὴν κοινὴν τῆς σωμάτων, δι' οὗ

As soon as the young gentlemen had perused this short paper, *Crito*, in a tone of voice expressive of the greatest humility, yet with a flow of eloquence far superior to his usual stile, indeed in a stile almost worthy of the subject, began to speak on those particulars of *St. Paul's* character, which are proper objects, not only of the admiration, but of the imitation also of every Christian. He spoke of the piety and charity, the humility, zeal, and patience of this holy Apostle.

*O that in these things, said he, we could become imitators of St. Paul, as he was of a far greater person! \**

Q q 3

THE

ελαλει εναντιον βασιλεων, κ' εκ ησχυνετο, — τυραννους επεσ-  
μισε, την οικημενην τω ΘΕΩ προσηγαγε. — την κονιν της  
καρδιας, η ητω πλατεια ην ως κ' πολεις ολοκληρης δεχεσθαι,  
κ' δημης, κ' εθνη — την καρδιαν εκεινην πυρμενην καθ'  
εκαστον των απολλυμενων, — την καινην ζησασαν ζωνη, κ  
ταυτην την ημετεραν. Ζω γαρ εκeti εγω, \*ζη δε εν εμοι,  
φησιν, ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. — Εβηλομην την κονιν ιδειν των  
χειρων, των εν αλυσει, δι' ων ταυτα τα γραμματα εργαφετο.  
— την κονιν των ποδων, των περιδραμουντων την οικημενην, κ'  
μη καμνουτων, των εν ξυλω δεδεμενων, ηνικα το δεσμωτηριον  
εσεισε. — Μη τοινυν θαυμαζωμεν αυτον μονον, — αλλα  
κ' μιμωμεθα, ινα καταξιωθημεν κ' εντευθεν απελθοντες  
αυτον ιδειν (εν υρανοις) κ' της απορρητης δοξης μετασχειν ης  
γενοιτο παντας ημας επιτυχειν χαριτι κ' φιλανθρωπια τη  
Κυρια ημων ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, μεθ' ου τω ΠΑΤΡΙ,  
αμα τω ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ δοξα, κρατ\*, τιμη, υν  
κ' αει, κ' εις της αιωνας των αιωνων Αμην.

\* *Non aliter IPSE intravit.*

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THE young gentlemen now recollected several exalted passages in *St. Paul's* writings, as well as several shining parts in the history of his life. They were beginning to speak on these topics, when the conversation was unexpectedly interrupted by the arrival of some *Italian* and *Maltese* gentlemen, with whom this *English* company were acquainted.

THE companies joined for some moments, and then divided. The *Maltese* and the *Italians* remained in the church of *St. Paul*; and the *English* company (being very desirous to continue the conversation on its present topic somewhat longer) proceeded in their coach to the neighbouring valley of *Aquæ Salvæ*.



THE valley of *Aquæ Salvæ* is a very retired spot. It seems almost uninhabited: no farmhouse, no village, nor any other buildings are to be seen here; except three chapels standing in the middle of a green pasture.

IN one of these chapels is an exquisite picture of the crucifixion of *St. Peter*, by *Guido Rheni*: in another are the figures of the twelve Apostles, by the school of *Raphael*.

AFTER

AFTER the young nobleman and the rest of this *English* company had passed a quarter of an hour in admiring these paintings, they sat down on a grassy bank near the porch of the chapel.

PERMIT me, said *Crito*, to return to the subject, on which you were just now speaking : I mean the history of *St. Paul*.

It is remarkable, that many of his writings bear some relation to *Rome* or to *Italy*.

THE epistle to the *Hebrews* was written by him, when in *Italy* : that to the *Romans* was, as appears by the title, addressed to the Christian inhabitants of this city. The epistles to the *Galatians* and *Ephesians*, to the *Philippians* and the *Colossians*, were all composed by *St. Paul*, while resident in this metropolis. The same may be said of his letter to the beloved, the faithful and charitable *Philemon* ; and of his second epistle to *Timotheus* : which epistle was indeed *St. Paul's* last work ; and may justly (according to *St. Chrysostom*) be considered as his last testament \*.

Q q 4

I THINK

\* See *Tillemont's* History of *St. Paul*, article 49.

*Il n'écrivoit pas simplement à St. Timotée pour l'appeller auprès de lui, mais pour l'exhorter tout de nouveau à s'acquitter de tous les devoirs d'un Evêque & d'un Docteur, avec un zèle digne de tant de*



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I THINK we were informed this morning in the *viâ latâ*, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the *Acts of the Apostles* were written, or at least finished, at Rome, by St. Luke, under the inspection of St. Paul.

THAT opinion seems indeed very probable, replied *Crito*, from the book's concluding with the account of St. Paul's being brought prisoner hither from *Judæa* \*.

How happy would it have been, said *Crito's* pupil, if St. Luke had lived long enough to have completed the history of St. Paul by the addition of a second book of the *Acts* †?

IN

*de graces qu'il avoit recues, & avec un genereux mépris de tous les maux de ce monde, puisque l'esprit du Christianisme n'est point un esprit de crainte, mais de courage & d'amour, & que tous ceux qui veulent vivre avec piété en Jesu Christ, doivent être persécutés. comme il le voyoit par son exemple.*

Κακοπαθήτον, ως καλὸν στρατιωτὴς ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

\* Vide St Hieronymi Catal Vir. Illustrium c. 7. and Dr. Cave's Life of St. Luke, p. 81. par. 5. though it is said by some, that the *Acts* of the Apostles were written at *Alexandria* by St. Luke, the year after St. Paul had left Rome to visit the further parts of Italy — Vide Prolegomena M.lli, p. xiv.

† *Arabicus vita Sti Lucæ apud Kirkstenium scriptor ipsum Romæ, idque non diu post primum S. Pauli e carcere solutorem passum (i. e. martyrio affectum) esse vult; redditâ hâc ratone, quod si diutius vixisset, Actuum Apostolorum historiam longius protraxisset.*

See Dr. Cave's *Seculum Apostolorum*, Hist. Liter.

IN relation to the sacred writings, replied *Crito*, there is no doubt, but that every thing has been ordered infinitely for the best : But yet on the other hand it *seems* equally certain, that there must have been very noble materials for a second part of the *Acts* of the Apostles. If that book had, as you observe, been confined to *St. Paul's* history alone, its contents must have been very glorious. Among other things, it would have contained his second journey to *Rome*, and the particulars of his transactions here. For (including both his journeys) *St. Paul* lived a considerable time here teaching *not only the chief of the Jews*, but *many of the Gentiles also*; particularly several even of *Cæsar's* household. Here were his glorious chains made manifest in the whole *prætorium*: Here was he brought twice before the face of the lion, that is, *Nero* \*. After his long labours in the ministry of the gospel, (labours, in which he persevered during, I think, thirty years, travelling through many different and distant parts of the *Roman* empire) Here at last he finished his course, and accomplished, far more nobly than any of the heathen heroes of this city, his holy warfare.

ON

\* *Eusebius* imagines, that *St. Paul* calls *Nero* by that name on account of his cruelty : perhaps also, it might be said, on account of that fierce anima's being imagined to be the sovereign of the beasts. It is remarkable that the person who brought king *Agrippa* the news of *Tiberius's* death, made use of the same expression: γλωσση τη Εβραιων, τιθησκειν ο λων, φησιν. *Josephus* Antiq. Jud. lib. 18.

In

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ON this account I should humbly submit it to the opinion of the proper judges, whether or no those writings of *St. Paul*, which bear relation to this city or country, or at least an extract of the moral parts of them, might not be proposed to travellers, during their residence at *Rome*, as a very useful kind of *Sunday's* private studies.

ALL travellers to *Athens*, in viewing the remains of the *Areopagus*, ought certainly to recollect *St. Paul's* oration there. If we should live to make the tour of *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, we shall doubtless at *Athens*, and in many other places, have just occasion to think on *St. Paul's* evangelical labours, sufferings, and imprisonments, as well on the epistles which he wrote to or from several of the cities in those eastern regions. During our residence at *Rome*, why should we not in like manner frequently meditate on the parts of *St. Paul's* history; which have, some of them, a very strong relation to this place?

WE have, for a considerable space of time past, been daily studying the imperfect characters of the

In relation to the two trials of *St. Paul*, in the first of which he was acquitted by *Nero*, *Eusebius* makes the following observation.

Εἰκο<sup>ν</sup> γε τοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τῷ Νερῶν<sup>τι</sup> διακείμενῳ, ῥαὶ οὖν τὴν ὑπὲρ δόγματ<sup>ος</sup> τῷ Παύλῳ δεχέσθαι ἀπολογία. Προελθόντ<sup>ος</sup> δὲ εἰς ἀδεμίτην τόλμην, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχείρισθηναι.

Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. κβ—κς.

the heathen worthies of this city. Yesterday we were busy in admiring the death of *Seneca* and *Thraseas*. But let us recollect that the holy Apostle and converter of the heathen world laid down his venerable head on the bloody block, *under the tyranny of the same Nero, and in the suburbs of this same city.*

SHALL we be inattentive to *his chains and martyrdom*? Shall we shut our eyes to *his instructions and example*? He in a very high degree, after his Divine Master, was a light to lighten even the most learned part of the Gentiles, (particularly by his being so ready to preach the gospel not only at Athens, but at Rome also) and to be the glory of his own people, whether we consider him as an *Israelite*, or as a *Roman* citizen.

FROM a principle not only of justice, but of gratitude, let us endeavour to express here some due respect to his sacred memory. It was for *us Gentiles* that he often bent his knees in prayer; it was for *us* that he laboured most incessantly, and passed through innumerable perils and pains.

WITH these thoughts I waked and left my bed by sun-rise last *Sunday* morning. I then immediately withdrew to my closet: and there (after some short, but I hope not ill intended devotion) had the great happiness to pass several of the  
calm,



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calm, serene, and fresh hours of the day in reading *alone and on my knees* that divine epistle, which St. Paul wrote from this city to his most beloved children at *Phillippi*.

WHILE I was reading that epistle, my heart often returned to you, my dear friends. Nor can I be sorry for that wandering of my thoughts; For I am sure that *I ought always upon every remembrance of you to pray that your faith and love may abound yet more and more : that ye may be filled with all the fruits of righteousness : that ye may become the children of God. O my beloved brethren, may the God of peace (that peace which passeth all understanding) be for ever with you !*

O MY dear friends, may that heavenly resignation which breathes in this Apostle's writings; may that fervent piety, which was in him from his youth up constantly accompanied with much learning, and with a conscience void of offence toward God and man; may his great benevolence to all the nations, through whose countries he ever travelled; may his abundant love even to his enemies, and unlimited charity to all men, whether *Greeks or Barbarians, Jews or Heathens*; (though he was persecuted by them all) may the memory of these his virtues have their due effect, a deep and indelible impression, on your minds !

MAY



Chap. VII. SUFFERING VIRTUE. 605

MAY the influence of his writings, and of his example in all its fulness, descend and rest upon you !

FROM my heart I wish you to be happier, than what I dare hope for myself: to be happier, & in *parvo* & in *magno*; & in *tempore* & in *eternitate* !

MAY you be eternally happy, happy, as long as God himself will be happy !

MAY your employment here at *Rome* be, by God's mercy, of such a kind, as to conduct you to that happiness ! Many centuries, many thousands of years hence, even from the immense depth of a blessed eternity, may your souls look back with pleasure to the recollection of your employment at *Rome* ! May that retrospect be one part of your felicity, even while your faculties shall be otherwise all-enraptured with the ecstatic vision of the everlasting glory of those *apostles*, *primitive saints*, and *martyrs*; in some of whose footsteps you are perhaps in *this place* now treading !

O MY dear friends, you cannot on this verdant grass-plot stir one step, where *St. Paul* has not trod. In this place (according to the united testimony, I believe, of all historians) that blessed apostle, saint, and martyr, was called to seal the gospel with his blood.

PERHAPS it was on *this bank* that *Timotheus* kneeled in prayer, while his master was led up to the  
the

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the block : *There perhaps* St. Paul stood in his last moments, meditating on that heavenly kingdom to which he was then approaching ; that third heaven, the glories of which he had already seen.

BUT why, dear sirs, do you look thus earnestly on me ? Indeed I am *deeply* (though not *sufficiently*) sensible of my infinite unworthiness *even to pronounce* any of these sacred names. Every time I make mention of them, my conscience cries out aloud to me, how unworthy I am, even of the ground on which I *ever* tread ; or of the air, which *ever* blows in my face. Yet let not my utter unfitness to preach on these or similar subjects, abate in the least your reverence for them.



IT is perhaps unnecessary, continued *Crito* after some pause, that I should thus persuade you to the study of the works of St. Paul : I have great reason to believe that the goodness of your own hearts has long ago suggested to you in some degree the *propriety* of such a study, while at *Rome*.

SOON after our first arrival here, I remember with great pleasure that I came by chance into my pupil's apartment one *Sunday* evening, (it was on the

the 25th of *January*) and found him reading that epistle to *Timotheus*, which I just now mentioned; that epistle, in which the heart of *St. Paul* pours forth the fulness of its tenderness towards this his dearest son.

My pupil read to me the five or six concluding verses of the last chapter. In relation to one of those verses he observed, that nothing more strongly demonstrates the falseness of the outward appearance of things in this life than the fact of such a wretch as *Nero* having sat in judgment on such a faint as *St. Paul*. How did they then appear? *St. Paul* in irons, deserted by his friends\*; loaded with

\* Εν τη πρώτη μου απολογία υδεις μοι Συμπαρεγενετο, αλλα παντες με εγκατελιπον· (μη αυτοις λογισθειη)

Ο δε Κυρις μοι παρεστη, η ενεδυναμωσε με, ινα δι' εμας το κηρυγμα πληροφορηθη, η ακηση παντα τα εδνη· η ερρυσθ ην εκ σωματος λεοντος.

Και ρυσεται με ο Κυρις απο παντος εργου πονηρου, η σωσει εις την βασιλειαν την επθανιον. Ω η δοξα εις τας αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.

Ασπασαι Πρισκαν η Ακυλαν, η τον Ονησιφορον οικον. Ερας εμεινεν εν Κορινθω. Τροφικον δε απελιπον εν Μηλητω ασθενεστα.

Σπαδασον προ χειμων ελθειν. Ασπαζεται σε Ευβελος η Πωδης η Αινος, η Κλαυδια, η οι αδελφοι παντες.

Ο Κυρις Ιησους Χριστος μετα τα πνευματα σε. Η χαρις μεθ' υμων. Αμην.

Προς Τιμοθεον δευτερα, της Εφεσιων εκκλησιας πρωτον επισκοπον χειροτονηθεντα εγραφη απο Ρωμης, οτε εκ δευτερου παρεστη Παυλος τω Καισαρι Νερωνι.

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with contempt and insults by his enemies: *Nero* seated on the *Roman* tribunal in all the pomp and glitter of imperial splendor, and surrounded doubtless with crouds of flattering courtiers.

BUT *how contrary has been the condition of their souls ever since? How different will be their meeting at the Last Day?* Let me refer you to what I find noted on this occasion in my memorandum papers, (my pupil gave me the hint of it) the seventeen first verses in the fifth chapter of the Book of *Wisdom* \*.

WHILE

\* ΤΟΤΕ ΣΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΗ Ο ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ.  
ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΛΙΨΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ,  
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΤΕΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΨΟΝΕΣ ΑΥΤΕ.  
ΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΡΑΧΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΦΟΒΩ ΔΕΙΝΩ,  
ΚΑΙ ΕΚΣΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΩ ΤΗΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ.  
ΕΡΧΣΙΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΝΤΕΣ,  
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΞΕΝΟΧΩΡΙΑΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΞΕΝΑΖΟΝΤΕΣ,  
ΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΝ ΟΝ ΕΣΧΟΜΕΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΥΕΛΩΤΑ.  
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗΝ ΟΝΕΙΔΙΣΜΕ.  
ΟΙ ΑΦΡΟΝΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΕ ΕΛΟΓΙΣΑΜΕΘΑ ΜΑΝΙΑΝ,  
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΕ ΑΤΙΜΟΝ.  
ΠΩΣ ΚΑΤΕΛΟΓΙΣΘΗ ΕΝ ΥΙΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ,  
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ Ο ΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΕ ΕΣΙΝ;  
ΑΡΑ ΕΠΛΑΝΗΘΗΜΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΟΔΕ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ,  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΦΩΣ ΕΚ ΕΛΑΜΨΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ,  
ΚΑΙ Ο ΗΛΙΟΣ ΕΚ ΑΝΕΤΕΙΛΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ.  
ΑΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΠΛΗΣΘΗΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΒΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΩΛΕΙΑΣ,

ΚΑΙ



WHILE *Crito* was thus speaking, his pious pupil held down his blushing countenance. I am sure, said he, that both on account of my youth, and of

Και διωδευσαμεν ἐρημὸς ἀβάτης,  
 Τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν Κυρίῃ ἐκ ἐγνώμεν.  
 Τί ωφελήσεν ἡμᾶς ἡ υπερηφάνια ;  
 Καὶ τί πλεῖστον μετὰ ἀλαζονείας ζυμβεβλήται ἡμῖν ;  
 Παρήλθεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὡς σκία,  
 Καὶ ὡς ἀγγελία παρὰ τρεχούσα·  
 Ὡς ναὺς διέρχομεν ὑδαίνουμένην ὑδάτι,  
 Ἡς διαβάτης ἐκ ἐστὶν ἰχθυὸς εὐρεῖν,  
 Οὐδὲ ἀτραπὸν τροπῆς αὐτῆς ἐν κυμασίν·  
 Ἡ ὡς ὄρνις διιπταντὸς ἀέρα,  
 Οὐδὲν εὐρίσκειται τεκμηρίον πόρεως,  
 Πληγὴ δὲ τάρσων μασιζόμενον πνεῦμα κέφον  
 Καὶ σχισόμενον βία ῥοιζῶ,  
 Κινημένων πτερύγων διωδεδυτή,  
 Καὶ μετὰ τῷτο ἐκ εὐρεθῆ σημείον ἐπιβάσεως ἐν αὐτῷ·  
 Ἡ ὡς βέλῃς ἐληθέντ' ἐπὶ σκοπόν,  
 Τμήμεις ὁ αἶψ' εὐθέως εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνελυθῇ,  
 Ὡς ἀγνοῆσαι τὴν διόδον αὐτῆς.  
 Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς γεννηθέντες ἐξελίπομεν·  
 Καὶ ἀρετῆς μὲν ζήμιον ἔδεν ἐχομεν δεῖξαι,  
 Ἐν δὲ τῇ κακίᾳ ἡμῶν κατεδάπανηθημεν.  
 Ὅτι ἐλπίς ἀσεβὲς ὡς φερομένη ὥς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου,  
 Καὶ ὡς παχυνὴ ὑπὸ λαίλαπτος διωχθεῖσα λεπτή,  
 Καὶ ὡς κάπν' ὑπὸ ἀνέμου διεχυθῇ,  
 Καὶ ὡς μνεία καταλυτὴ μονοήμερος παρωδεύσει.  
 Δίκαιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσι,  
 Καὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῶν,  
 Καὶ ἡ φροντίς αὐτῶν παρὰ Ὑψίστῳ.



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of many other more important considerations, I am really very unworthy to pretend to speak on such subjects. Yet in justice to my two good young friends here, let me have the pleasure of assuring you that *their* hearts overflowed with the highest happiness this morning, while they were listening to your instructions in the basilica of *St. Paul*. They acknowledged these sentiments to me afterwards, though they were silent when on the spot. Even at present their hearts burn with them.

LET me add that a similar ardour and pleasure filled their minds some few days past, while we were viewing the beautiful round chapel built by *Bramante*, on the *Janiculan* hill, on the very spot where *it is said* that *St. Peter* was crucified. But pray, dear sir, what may be your opinion as to the truth of that history? If we mistake not, it has been controverted.

WE will talk on that subject, replied *Crito*, if you please, in the afternoon: at present let us finish our morning studies here. For the *Maltese* and *Italian* gentlemen, who were with us at *St. Paul's*, are following us hither. Their coach, you see, has  
just

Δια τὸ το ληψονται τὸ βασιλειον τῆς ευπρεπειας,  
Και τὸ διαδῆμα τε καλλὺς ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου,  
Ὅτι τῇ δεξίᾳ σκεπασεὶ αὐτὸς,  
Και τῷ βραχίονι ὑπερασπισεὶ αὐτῶν.

Chap. VII. SUFFERING VIRTUE. 611

just now stopped at the gateway which leads to these chapels. As devotion is the motive of their coming hither, it will be proper for us to retire.

\* \* \*

THE *English* gentlemen now returned to *Rome*. In their way to their lodgings they visited the church and rich chapels of *S. S. Pudens*, and *Pudentiana*.

THE company dined to-day at the young nobleman's apartments. But they were all remarkably abstemious. After coffee they withdrew, as usual, to sleep, but none of them closed their eyes.

THEY met again at tea. While they were drinking it, the young nobleman desired to look again on the paper, which *Crito* had shewed to them this morning.

WITH deep attention the company considered its contents, particularly its conclusion.

AFTER the re-perusal of this paper, they walked down *in silence* from the *Colle Pinciano*, or *Hor-  
tulano*\* and passing by the church of Cardinal

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*Borromeo*,

\* Its modern name is *Monte di Trinità*.

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*Borromeo*, and the Lying-in Hospital at the magnificent *Ripetta*, (which is on the banks of the *Tiber*) they took boat, and crossed that narrow but rapid stream.

THEY landed on the opposite bank among some gardens: for the whole large space between this part of the *Tiber* and the *Vatican* hill, is at present nothing but gardens, fields and meadows.

IT was then that time of the evening, when a rural walk, attended by divine meditations, is most pleasant.

*CRITO* at length began the conversation, following the train of thought in which he had been engaged at the conclusion of his paper on the subject of *Suffering Virtue*.

THOUGH we are neither able, said he, nor worthy, to meditate on the high and holy subject of our Saviour's Passion, yet let us endeavour to consider and fully contemplate the patience and fortitude of His first followers and disciples: in the same manner, as though we cannot fix our eyes on the sun, even while setting, yet we may view with pleasure the reflection of his light on the face of the moon, and of *that* evening star.

LET us not think the deaths of those holy martyrs and saints to be less instructive lessons to us than their lives. By their deaths Providence as it were demonstrates to us that there must be another life. *When we see wicked men prosper, and saints die in dungeons, we are far from doubting of Providence; we are strengthened in the assured belief, that God who has stamped the marks of infinite wisdom and goodness on all his works, has appointed a just retribution in the world to come. And faith reveals to us clearly this important secret. We at present see only one end of the chain in the conduct of Providence towards men: many links of it are now concealed from our eyes. Let us wait a little, and we shall see in eternity God's goodness abundantly justified.*

IN the mean time let us follow the examples of those blessed saints; their examples of piety to heaven and charity to man: Let us thankfully accept every good gift of Providence; and patiently endure every *seeming* evil, which may be appointed for us during this short and transitory state.

CRITO now pausing, permit me, dear Sir, said his pupil, to indulge myself in the recollection of some happy hours, which I enjoyed about two months ago. Happy I call them, because during

their continuance my mind was filled with thoughts congenial to yours.

THE day before you began this course of *Roman* lectures, the last day of *April*, was the festival of the Ascension\*. In the afternoon of that day I attended this our noble young friend to see the large picture which Mr. *Mengs* has designed and executed on that glorious subject †.

To one representation in that painting we shut our eyes. But in relation to the figures of the blessed Virgin, and of the Apostles, who are there described, kneeling and *adoring* our Saviour during his ascent to heaven, on these our eyes were long time fixed.

OUR thoughts entered into the subject, and dwelt on it, and were absorbed in it.

AT the instant of the ascension (said we to each other) how totally must *these* holy persons have disregarded all the labours, pains, and dangers, with which, during the shortness of human life, innocence and sanctity are sometimes tried? Such  
were

\* See pages xvi. and xxxiv. of the Introduction to the first book.

† This picture was at *Rome* in the year 1761; but was intended to be removed to *Dresden* as soon as the war should be ended.



were *our* thoughts also while viewing that picture of the Ascension.

WE afterwards walked, along this very path, to St. *Peter's*. We found the church full of processions, and resounding with sacred music.

MAY my dear friends in *England*, may my dear friends here pardon me—I then could not forbear wishing myself in heaven.

SCARCE had *Crito's* pupil uttered these last words; when, recollecting himself, and blushing at the sentiments which had suddenly risen from his heart, and had been unawares expressed by his lips, he hastened to turn the discourse to its former topick; the picture of the Ascension by Mr. *Mengs*.

CRITO joined with him in his admiration of most parts of that picture. He at the same time spoke, with some restriction, in favour of church-paintings in general. Provided (said he) those paintings are confined to scriptural subjects, or to authentic and edifying parts of church history, I cannot but be of opinion that they may frequently serve to awaken some good emotions in the breast of the spectator.

I HAVE indeed of late, said the young nobleman, thought, that to consider those kinds of painting, merely with an *artist's* eye, is too cold a method of studying them.

SOME few weeks ago I took a solitary walk to that chapel on *Monte Caelio* which is enriched with the two famous pictures of *Dominichini* and *Guido*, on the subject of St. *Andrew's* martyrdom. I sat there alone near half an hour; remarking, as well as I was able, the *different* excellencies of each of those masters: *Dominichini's* picture, though it is not perhaps so faultless as that of *Guido*, yet it is said (and, I thought, justly) to contain equal, if not superior beauties.

WHILE I was thus amusing myself, an accident happened which instructed me that I might have been employing my thoughts there in a *much better* manner.

AN elderly woman (a native of *France*, and of a good family there) entered the chapel; her dress was plain, but clean and neat: (it seemed to be the proper garb of charity) her looks remarkably full of benevolence, humility, and devotion. She knelt down immediately before the communion-table, and kissed the pavement. After some few moments she rose, and walked back to that part of the chapel, where (you know) *Dominichini* has  
repre-

represented on the wall St *Andrew* patiently enduring those torments, which usually preceded crucifixion: *flagellis cæsum*. At the sight she burst into tears. Soon however drying those tears, she turned round to the opposite painting of *Guido*: She fixed her eyes on the Apostle there joyfully saluting and welcoming his cross: Her countenance was in that instant covered with a smiling calmness, and with all the tokens of a meek, resigned, and peaceful mind. She drew a chair, and sat down by *Guido's* picture: She took a book of devotion in her hands, and began to peruse it. I was impertinent enough to look over her shoulder: it was a translation of the treatise *de Imitatione*; and was opened at the 12th chapter of the second book. The words which met my eye were the following: *Il faut pratiquer la patience, si vous voulez jouir de la paix du cœur, & mériter une couronne éternelle.*

I REMEMBER that chapter, replied *Crito*; it is a very fine one. I am obliged to you for reminding me of it afresh. I will read it over again this evening. I have the book in the original: and indeed quoted some lines from it, in the paper which I laid on your table this morning.

IN the mean time, as you have accidentally mentioned the martyrdom of St. *Andrew*, permit me to observe that St. *Andrew* is described in holy writ

writ as one of the *first* disciples of the LAMB of GOD.

CRIſTO now ſtopped in his walk, and ſtood ſtill for ſome moments: he took from his pocket the firſt volume of the New Teſtament; being a ſmall edition of the Gofpels and Acts in *Greek*, with the *Latin* tranſlation: he read from it the following lines.

*Alterâ die iterum ſtabat Ioannes, & ex diſcipulis ejus duo. Et reſpiciens Jeſum ambulantiem, dixit, Ecce AGNUS DEI!*

*Et audierunt eum duo diſcipuli loquentem, & ſecuti ſunt Jeſum—Erat autem Andreas, frater Simonis Petri unus ex duobus, qui audierant à Ioanne, & ſecuti fuerant eum. Invenit hic primum fratrem ſuum Simonem, & dixit ei, Invenimus MESSIAM\*.*

ST *Andrew*, my dear friends, at our Saviour's call, *readily* left all things to follow him. Both in life and death he proved himſelf a worthy teacher of the doctrine of the Croſs.

THE death of the croſs was appointed for St. *Andrew*: and indeed it is highly ſuitable to his character

\* Evang. St. *Jobannis*, chap. i.

character to think, that he received his crown with ardent joy.

HE preached the gospel *in Greece*, and *there* laid down his life for it: he confirmed the faith by his blood shed on the cross *at Patræ in Achaia*.

LET us here pause a little, and reflect on *that* circumstance. — Is it not probable that St. *Andrew*, in the hour of his martyrdom, devoutly recollected those words, which our Saviour had spoken to him and to St *Philip*, on a subject very similar? It was at that *remarkable* time, when some *Grecians* expressed their desire of seeing JESUS.

CRIſTO now turned to the 12th chapter of St. *John*; and desired leave to read the following passage.

*Erant autem quidam Gentiles (ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ) ex his qui ascenderant ut adorarent in die festo. Hi ergo accesserunt ad Philippum, qui erat a Bethsaidâ Galileæ, & rogabant eum, dicentes; Domine, volumus IESUM videre. Venit Philippus & dicit Andreæ, Andreas rursus & Philippus dixerunt Iesu.*

*Iesus autem respondit eis, dicens: Venit hora, ut clarificetur Filius Hominis. Amen, amen, dico vobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit*



*fuert ipsum solum manet : si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert. Qui amat animam suam, perdet eam ; & qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam custodit eam. Si quis mihi ministrat, me sequator ; & ubi sum ego, illic & minister meus erit. Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus. Nunc anima mea turbata est, & quid dicam ? Pater, salvifica me ex hac hora. Sed propterea veni in hanc horam. Pater, clarifica nomen tuum.*

*Venit ergo vox de cælo : Et clarificavi, & iterum clarificabo. Turba ergo quæ stabat & audierat dicebat tonitruum esse factum. Alii dicebant, Angelus ei locutus est.*

*Respondit Iesus, & dixit : Non propter me hæc vox venit, sed propter vos. Nunc iudicium est mundi ; nunc principis hujus mundi ejicietur foras. Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terrâ, omnia traham ad me ipsum. (Hoc autem dicebat, significans quâ morte esset moriturus.)*



It seems (continued *Crito*, closing the book) to be very observable, that as our Saviour himself, to the utter confusion of human pride, patiently submitted

submitted to the most ignominious kind of death, so likewise did all his holy Apostles.

THE holy Apostles and friends of CHRIST were treated during their lives as malefactors. They were imprisoned: they were banished: they wandered about, being destitute; afflicted; tormented; hated; despised: *they*, of whom the world was not worthy. After several years thus passed, they (like the prophets and martyrs of the Old Testament) were tortured, not accepting deliverance: they were slain with the sword.

OF what then ought a common Christian to complain?

I MADE yesterday some extracts from the Imitation, mingling them with some words of my own, which, if you will give me leave, I will now read to you. They are on this slip of paper.

*O ingrata anima mea, cessa tandem conqueri; considerata CHRISTI & sanctorum ejus amicorum passionem.*

CHRISTUS pati voluit, & crucifigi: Christiani autem hodierni, otium sibi quærunt, & requiem & divitias & longæ vitæ commoda. Such were not the thoughts of the glorious company of the Apostles;

Apostles; such were not *their* expectations. *Quid hinc circumspicis, anima mea? Non est hic locus requietionis tuæ. In cælestibus debet esse tua habitatio in æternum.*

O Deus meus, verte mihi in amaritudinem omnem consolationem carnalem, ab æternorum amore me abstrahentem. Non me decipiat mundus, & brevis gloria ejus: da mihi fortitudinem resistendi, patientiam tolerandi, constantiam perseverandi: da pro omnibus mundi consolationibus suavissimam SPIRITÛS TUI unctionem.

MUCH instruction might be reaped from a recollection of a catalogue of the Apostles, joined to a serious consideration of what was *their* lot in this world.

ACCORDING to the accounts, which are most generally received,

1. St. *Peter* was crucified.
2. St. *Andrew* was crucified.
3. St. *Bartholomew* was flead alive.
4. St. *John* was banished, after having been cast in a cauldron of boiling oil.
- 5, 6. Two St. *James*'. One was beheaded: of the other the brains were dashed out.
7. St. *Philip* was stoned.
8. St. *Thomas* stabbed.

9. St.

9. St. *Matthew* beheaded.
10. St. *Simon* crucified.
11. St. *Jude* shot with arrows.
12. St. *Matthias* stabbed.
13. St. *Paul* beheaded.

Υπαγετε. Ἰδὲ ΕΓΩ αποσελλω υμας, ως αρνας  
εν μεσω λυκων.

I WISH, said the young nobleman, that you had favoured us with some of these sentiments this morning, while we were admiring the figures of the Apostles painted by the school of *Raphael*. But pray proceed.

AMONG these blessed Apostles, replied *Crito*, the first who gained the crown of martyrdom was St. *James*, brother of St. *John*. In the beginning of our Saviour's ministry St. *James* had readily left every thing to obey the divine call: after our Saviour's ascension he followed his master's path to heaven doubtless with equal readiness. Enabled, not by the strength of his own resolutions, but by the strength of grace, St. *James* joyfully accepted his Lord's cup of suffering; and was the first of the Apostles who drank of it.

I REMEMBER, said the young nobleman, that in the picture of the Ascension (of which your  
pupil

pupil was just now speaking) there was something very peculiarly striking in the figure and countenance of St. *James*. But pray inform me, where was it that St. *James* suffered, and at what time.

He suffered at *Jerusalem*, replied *Crito*, a little before *Easter*; in the eleventh or twelfth year, after he had attended his Saviour's agony there in the garden of *Gethsemani*.

*CLAUDIUS* was then emperor of *Rome*, and *Herod Agrippa* king of *Judea*. For it was *Herod Agrippa* who slew St. *James* with the sword; and, seeing that it pleased the *Jews*, proceeded to seize *Peter* also, intending doubtless the same cruelty to him.

YOUR mentioning the name of St. *Peter* reminds me, said *Crito's* pupil, that while we were this morning in the valley of *Aque Salvie*, you were asked a question relative to *his* history; which you gave us reason to hope you would resolve this afternoon. I could wish you would now resolve our doubts on that subject.

PERMIT me, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, to second that motion. We are walking at present in direct and full view of his magnificent basilica; and consequently our thoughts in this conversation naturally point to him.

IN



IN regard of St. *Peter*, replied *Crito*, there are two particular difficulties which discourage me from attempting to speak on the subject of his life and character.

FIRST, my own great demerits. I am not worthy to talk on the virtues of any one of the most imperfect among good men : much less ought I to presume to attempt the description of that eminent sanctity, that strong faith, that ardent love of God, and zeal for the salvation of human souls, which inspired the holy person, who is always named the *first* in the catalogue of the Apostles.

THE other difficulty rises from the circumstance of St. *Peter's* residence in this city having been much controverted in modern ages.

I MUST acknowledge indeed to my shame, that I have not as yet sufficiently applied myself to that important branch of the science of divinity, ecclesiastical history, so as to be able to give you any full information on this point, and at the same time to do what is perhaps proper justice to the arguments of the writers on both sides of the question.

I MIGHT add, that controversy (however, on some occasions, highly useful and necessary) is in general not an agreeable employment. Its discussions are difficult; and the temper which it sometimes produces is not that of a Christian heart. Happy is the ecclesiastic who is engaged in the other occupations of a religious life, in the smoother path of other studies, in the serene felicities of devotion, and in the celestial employments of that universal charity, with which all the true servants of GOD are unextinguishably inflamed: *loving one another with a pure heart fervently, and laying aside all malice and all guile, and hypocrisies and envies, and all evil speakings.*

YET on the other hand surely the exalted subjects of this day's conversation, ought to impart a generous warmth to our hearts; we ought neither to be ashamed, nor afraid to confess our opinion, as to that controverted point.

MOST probably *it is very true*, that St. Peter passed a considerable part of his life in this city: and on this account we ought, during our happy residence here, frequently to meditate on his virtues, and endeavour to pay due honour and veneration to his blessed memory.

WE

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WE justly reverence *St. Paul*, as the Apostle of the *Gentile* world: but let us not forget that *St. Peter* also highly merits the same title\*.

Is it your opinion, said *Crito's* pupil, that *St. Peter* was really crucified at *Rome*?

IN relation to the manner and place of *St. Peter's* death, my opinion is this, replied *Crito*.

THAT *St. Peter* was crucified, may be implied from the gospel of *St. John*. He glorified God, following his holy Lord even in the manner of his death†.

THAT he suffered at *Rome*, all the antient writers are said to be unanimous; and as to the moderns, many learned Protestants agree with the *Roman* Catholicks in this point‡.

BOTH these points seem indeed sufficiently clear: but as to the exact time of his sufferings, and the

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exact

\* See the tenth and eleventh chapter of the *Acts*, and the 7th verse of the fifteenth chapter.

† See chap. xxi. 15.

‡ See *Dr. Pearson's* posthumous works; *Dr. Cave's* Life of *St. Peter*, and Literary History, *Sac. Apost.* p. 5 and 7. and also *Pool's* Synopsis on the 18th verse of the 21st chapter of *St. John's* Gospel.

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exact spot in *Rome* where he breathed out his pious soul, I believe there may be some real reason to doubt.

IN relation to his interment, it was probably *here*, where his splendid church now appears. The palaces of the *Cæsars* are in ruins, but the tomb of the fisherman is in the highest glory.

THE tradition, that St. *Peter* was really buried *here*, is greatly corroborated by the testimony of *Caius*, who lived about fifteen hundred and fifty years ago\*; and by the indubitable fact of the emperor *Constantine's* having built *here* in honour of St. *Peter* a basilica which was very stately, though I suppose not comparable to the present most magnificent structure.

THE basilica of St. *Peter*, said the young nobleman which was erected by *Constantine*, seems (from the plans of it published by *Bonanni*) to have  
been

\* Περὶ τῶν τοπῶν ἐνθα τῶν εἰρημίων ἀπογόνων τὰ ἱερά σκηνώματα κατατίθεται, φησὶν, Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τροπαία τῶν ἀπογόνων ἔχω διῆλαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ διέλθῃς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βατικανόν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν οἶον τῆς ὡς ἰαν εὐρησῇς τὰ τροπαία τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

*Euseb. Hist. Eccl. β. xi.*

See also *Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25. p. 67. Cave's Appendix to St. Peter's Life, p. 47.*

been very fimilar to the bafilica of St. *Paul*, which we vifited this morning.

THIS obfervation of the young nobleman recalled feveral pious ideas to *Crito's* mind. He recollected fome of thofe awful sentiments which had filled his heart in the morning, while ftanding near the ftairs which lead down to St. *Paul's* grave.

How ftriking, faid he, is that paffage in St. *Chryfoftom's* description of the laft day? ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ αρπαγγησεται Παυλῶ, ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ Πετρῶ. Εννοησατε, καὶ φριξατε, οἱον ριψεται Θεαμα Ρώμῃ τον Παυλον Εξαιφνης ανιςαμενον απο της θηκης εκεινης μετα Πετρου, καὶ αιρομενον εις την απαντησιν τῶ ΚΤΡΙΟΥ\*.

THE idea of the glorious refurrection of St. *Peter*, and of St. *Paul*, feems to have been ftroḡly impreffed on St. *Chryfoftom's* mind. For in another part of his works†, "What, fays he, was more glorious, than *Paul*; what more illuftrious than *Peter*, who travelled over the earth fowing every

S f 3

where

\* See the conclufion of the laft Homily on the Epiftle to the *Romans*.

† Expositio in Pfalmum cix.



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where the seeds of religion?—But if in this world they were endued with such power, think what they will be on that day, when they shall have received bodies incorruptible, immortal, and far exceeding all earthly glory; fashioned like the glorious body of Christ, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself\*.



YOU favoured us this morning, said the eldest of the young gentlemen, with a catalogue of the sacred writings, which were composed by St. *Paul* while at *Rome*. Give me leave to ask you whether St. *Peter* wrote any thing during his residence here. Did he sow the seeds of religion here with his words and example only, or was his pen also employed in those glorious labours?

IT is said, replied *Crito*, and I believe truly, that as St. *Paul* assisted St. *Luke* in writing the history of the Acts of the Apostles, so also St. *Peter*, while at *Rome*, assisted St. *Mark* in the composition

\* See St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Philippians*, chap. iii. 21.

position and revival of his gospel\*. From whence it might be that some antients have attributed that gospel to St. *Peter* himself. He certainly had a very considerable share in the work. It has been observed (as an instance of St. *Peter's* great humility) that in this gospel no mention is made of the high commendations which our Saviour gave to that Apostle on his confessing him to be the Son of God; but the history of his shameful lapse and denial of his master is related at full length, with some particular aggravations, of which the other Evangelists take no notice†?

BUT the only writings, to which St. *Peter's* name is affixed, are his Epistles,

IN

\* St. *Mark* accompanied St. *Peter* in his apostolical progress, preached the gospel in *Italy* and at *Rome*, where at the request of the Christians of those parts he composed his gospel. —The converts at *Rome*, not content to have heard St. *Peter* preach, pressed St. *Mark* his disciple, that he would commit to writing an historical account of what he delivered to them: which he performed with no less faithfulness than brevity, all which St. *Peter* perused, ratified with his authority, and commanded to be publicly read in their religious assemblies.

See Dr. *Cave's* Life of St. *Mark*, folio edition, p. 174. and p. 176. and also his Literary History, v. i. p. 24. St. *Mark* was martyred at *Alexandria*, in the 14th year of *Nero*. But it is related by the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (as quoted in *Calmet's* dictionary of the Bible) that St. *Mark* was present at *Rome* at the death of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*,

† See *Euseb.* Dem. lib. iii. c. 5. p. 121, 122.

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IN relation to the two Epistles of St. *Peter*, I could heartily wish, that you would allot some few hours next Saturday or Sunday for the diligent perusal of them. The first of those Epistles is, you know, generally understood to have been sent by St. *Peter* from *this* city\*. He is said to have written the second also here while in prison, *some little time before his putting off his mortal tabernacle*.

How pleasing will it be to you, in comparing that epistle with one of St. *Paul's*, to consider, both these great Apostles looking forward with joy to their approaching crowns of everlasting glory†?

If indeed I might presume (unworthy as I am) to recommend to you any method of preparing  
your

\* See *Grotius's* note on the 13th chapter of this Epistle. *De Babylone dissident veteres & novi interpretes.—Veteres Romam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse nemo verus Christianus dubitabit: novi Babylonem in Chaldaea. Ego veteribus assentior*

See also Dr. *Hammond's* note on the same passage, together with his prefaces to both of the Epistles of St. *Peter*.

See also *Mill's* Prolegomena to his *Greek Testament*, p. vii.

See also the most primitive testimony of *Papias*, ap. *Euseb.* lib. ii. c. 15, p. 53.

† The reader is desired to compare part of the second Epistle of St. *Peter*, beginning at the 14th verse of the first chapter, with part of St. *Paul's* second Epistle to *Timothews*, beginning at verse 6, chap. iv.

your minds for duly meditating on St. *Peter's* martyrdom, it should be this.

DILIGENTLY study his two epistles, endeavour to enter into the stream of thought, and into the divine spirit itself of the writer.

WHEN you have fully imbibed his sentiments, put your *Greek* Testament in your pocket, and take a walk to this church, (let it be an hour about noon, when it is least frequented) sit down on one of the benches which stand usually behind St. *Peter's* grave: meditate then on what you have been reading; re-peruse the most affecting passages; and pray to GOD of his infinite mercy to inspire into your breasts thoughts and resolutions worthy of the occasion and place! pray earnestly! for it will not be a little blessing,



THE company were now arrived at the great *Piazza* of the *Vatican*: they advanced to its center, to the basis of the famous *Egyptian* obelisk.

AFTER

## 634 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS.. Book IV.

AFTER some short conversation here on other subjects, *Crito* resumed his former solemn discourse.

WITHIN some few months of the martyrdom of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, the first general persecution broke out. It is one of the honours of the Christian church, that its first persecutor was a *Nero*.

GREAT numbers of the friends and disciples of the Apostles were then cruelly tormented and murdered; as is described in the 15th book of the Annals of *Tacitus*.

*Pereuntibus Christianis addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contesti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi; aut flammandi\*; & ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.*

AMONG the fragments of *Seneca*, said *Crito's* pupil, there is a passage which seems applicable to

\* *Stantibus ad palum destinatis, unco (ne motatione capitis picem ardentem declinarent) gutturi suffixo, e laminâ ardente pix aut unguen in caput liquefiebat, ita ut rivus pinguedinis humanæ per arenam amphitheatrî sulcum facerent. Ad hoc tormentum alludit Juvenalis, sat. i. v. 154.*

*Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ  
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant.  
Et latus mediam sulcus diducit arenam.*

Vid. *Hauffii* Annotat. in *Tacitum*.



to the martyrdoms of *St. Peter*, and of these his worthy disciples and friends \*. It is not in the least improbable, that *Seneca* might be a spectator of their sufferings. And from his deep silence in relation to their doctrines, it is very much to be suspected, that he was far from condemning them in his heart, though he was not honest enough to declare openly his approbation of them. But I interrupt you; pray proceed.

YOU are now, my dear friends, replied *Crito*, standing on the very spot where these apostolic Christians were martyred. On that point I believe all historians and antiquarians agree.

INDEED the fact seems to be past dispute. For most part of the southern side of this great church stands on the ruins of the circus of *Caligula* and *Nero* †.

IN

\* See *Lipsius's* Collection of those fragments, numb. 25.

*Hic est ille homo honestus, non apice purpurave, non lictorum insignis ministerio, sed nulla re minor (query, if this is not a false reading) qui cum mortem in vicino videt, non sic perturbatur, tanquam rem novam viderit, qui sive toto corpore tormenta patiendi sunt, sive flamma ore recipienda est, sive extendendæ per patibulum manus, non quærit quid patiat, sed quàm bene.*

† See *Bonanni's* description of the *Vatican* church p. 24. and particularly the plan of it intitled *Tabula 6 Ichnographia Basilicæ antiquæ & novæ simul cum Circo Neroniano*.

See also *Abbate Venuti's Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 106.

*Fu in questa valle il Circo di Nerone. Fu questo fabbricato da Caligola, poi accresciuto o adornato da Nerone. Nel mezzo vi era*

## 636 ROMAN CONVERSATIONS. Book IV.

IN this part of the *Vatican* valley were the *Domitian* gardens. This obelisk was brought from *Egypt* by *Caligula*, and placed by him (not far distant from the spot on which it now stands) on the *Spina* of his circus. In that circus *Nero* afterwards *quæsitissimis pænis affectit Christianos. Hortos enim suos ei spectaculo obtulerat, & circense ludicrum edebat.*

IT seems somewhat strange, said the young nobleman, that among all the paintings and sculptures in this most magnificent church, there are none which refer to the celebrated and certain martyrdom of so many primitive Christians on this very spot. What pity is it, that *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* were not employed here on that subject!

I HEARTILY wish they had been, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen. Even our good tutor, I believe, will join in that wish. Yesterday, when he was admiring the statue of *Seneca*,  
he

*era l'Obelisco, che ora si vede nel centro della gran Piazza Vaticana: Crollò à terra ne i tempi barbari, senza però alcuna lesione del marmo e fino a tempi di Sisto V. giacque prostrato nel suo antice sito vicino alla Sagrestia della Basilica Vaticana, fino che nel 1580 fu trasportato nella Piazza.*

See also *Severano's* history of the seven churches, pag. 92.

*I primi martiri Christiani furono uccisi in questo circo, come pare lo accenni Tacito.*—The 24th of June is the day of their memorial.

he expressed great concern that *Tacitus* had not preserved the last discourse of that philosopher. If he had now before his eyes some of the labours of *Michael Angelo's* chissel, or *Raphael's* pencil, descriptive of these martyrdoms, would he not much more earnestly have contemplated them, and much more strongly expressed his desire that some worthy historian had faithfully recorded the dying words of these primitive martyrs, and their behaviour in general at their last hour?

*TACITUS*, replied *Crito*, prejudiced as he was against them in general, yet strongly asserts their innocence as to the particular crime for which they suffered.

THE spectators also of this infernal cruelty, cruel as they were themselves, and prejudiced in the same manner, yet before the horrid long execution was over, felt their hatred to these sufferers turned to pity and compassion.

*Miseratio oriebatur*, says *Tacitus*. This softer sentiment seems to have first flowed from the natural sympathy and irresistible meltings of the human heart on such dreadful occasions. But it was certainly greatly augmented by the opinion generally and justly entertained of the in-

nocence

*innocence* of the sufferers. It was increased probably still much more by the *moving behaviour*, gentle words, and celestial aspirations of these blessed primitive saints and proto-martyrs of *Rome*, who around this very obelisk commended their spirits into the hands of their heavenly Father, in the midst of the heaviest insults, calumnies and torments; full of patience, full of peace, full of the hopes of immortality,

MAY we not probably, very justly apply to them the description of the death of the blessed proto-martyr in *Jerusalem*? And in what better manner can we conclude this day's meditation, than by recollecting the holy behaviour, both in life and death, of him who had the honour of being the first leader of all the noble army of Christian martyrs? St. *Stephen* abounded with all the primitive virtues; he was remarkable for his faith, for his zeal in the cause of religion, and for his care of the poor. St. *Stephen*, in his last hour, being full of the HOLY GHOST, looked up stedfastly unto heaven, and saw the heavens opened, and the glory of GOD, and JESUS the Son of Man, standing on the right hand of GOD. On St. *Stephen* the people ran with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and slew him, calling upon GOD, and saying LORD JESUS! receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice,

LORD,

Chap. VII. SUFFERING VIRTUE. 639

LORD, lay not this sin to their charge; and when he had said this, he fell asleep.

Αμην. Αμην. λεγω υμιν, οτι κλαυσετε κ' θρηνη-  
σατε υμεις' οδε κοσμος χαρησεται. Υμεις δε λυπηθη-  
σεσθε, αλλ' η λυπη υμων εις χαραν γενησεται.

*Amen! Lord Jesus! Amen! So be it! Fiat mihi  
secundum verbum tuum.*

THE END.





